



ROBESPIERRE .

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ROBESPIERRE,
POLITICAL AND PERSONAL.

CONTAINING, HIS
PRINCIPLES, ACTIONS, AND DESIGNS,
IN THE
JACOBIN CLUB, COMMUNE OF PARIS, CONSTI-
TUENT ASSEMBLY, AND THE CONVENTION.

THE WHOLE COMPREHENDS
INTERESTING PARTICULARS RESPECTING
His commencing Politician, establishing his Tyranny, and
falling the Victim of National Vengeance.

INTERSPERSED WITH
INTERESTING TRAITS AND CURIOUS ANECDOTES
OF
REMARKABLE CHARACTERS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS
PERSON, LIFE, AND MANNERS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed by C. Whittingham,
FOR B. CROSEY, NO. 4, STATIONERS COURT, LUDGATE STREET;
AND T. BOOSEY, OLD BROAD STREET.

1794.

THE
HISTORY

OF
ROBERT PIERRE
POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

CHARACTER, HIS
PRINCIPAL ACTIONS AND DESIGNS
IN THE
JACQUINOTTE CONSPIRACY OF PARIS, 1830
TWO YEARS AND THE REVOLUTION



REMARKABLE CHARACTERS.

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THE SECOND EDITION

LONDON:
Printed by E. Widdowson,
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the Theatre, Old Broad Street.

1834

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE character of Robespierre having been the most extraordinary that this, or, perhaps, any other age has produced, could not fail rendering it a subject of universal obfervance. To fee a man emerging from the loweft fituation, to that height of power which threatened every ftate of Europe with diforder and defolation, excited wonder, blended with horror.

Without extraordinary talents, patronage, fortune, or diftinction, he deftroyed his King, annihilated the government, facrificed his friends promifcuoufly with his enemies, and was fpreading rapine and mafacre over the face of nature.

An enquiry, therefore, into the means by which fo insignificant a being could effect
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such universal mischief, it is presumed will gratify curiosity, and convince the mind that cunning, stimulated by vicious inclination, is not to be limited in its designs.

In the following sketch, his principles are traced from his own actions and sentiments. Whatever reflections are made, they are the natural result of viewing a conduct so subversive of all that can render life secure or desirable.

Without any personal enmity to the man, his monstrous violences on society excite our abhorrence, and impel us to join in the general execration of his detestable atrocity.

LIFE

OF

ROBESPIERRE.

VIEWING such characters as have distinguished themselves by their villainy, has the same effect upon the mind as looking into a yawning cavern, where nature, with hideous, ruined aspect, awakens terror, and arrests attention. Although disgusted with physical or moral deformity in their most malignant appearances, curiosity impels us to approach and observe the object. From this propensity, we derive more accurate ideas of beauty in nature, and virtue in morals. For the source of knowledge in both, depends on the comparison of opposite natures. The great enormities, therefore, of such an ensanguined monster as Robespierre, heighten our respect for virtue; and, as the darkest foil, encrease its splendour.

By tracing the actions of vice, we develop its principles, detect its machinations, and de-

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stroy its powers. Exposing villainy, shields the innocent, and warns the unsuspecting, who might otherwise fall the victims of fraud, rapine, or murder. The following memoirs, although read to gratify curiosity, cannot be remembered without increasing the security of society. Such outrageous violence on every principle of human happiness and preservation, must deter individuals from a connection so pregnant with evil. Infamous characters, displayed in all their enormity of action and principle, are, therefore, like buoys, which shew where mankind have to avoid rocks and quicksands. Conscious of this truth, we hope to serve, while we gratify, the curiosity of the Public, so anxiously desirous of knowing every interesting particular respecting a character that has equally disgraced and injured human nature.

Robespierre was born at Arras, the capital city of Artois. He was nephew to Damien, who was broken on the wheel, Jan. 5, 1757, for attempting to assassinate Louis XV. He is stated to have been in so low a situation as porter in a shop in Dublin. But, returning to France, he began the profession of the law, which he practised in Paris, with all the respectability of a pettifogger in England. His versatile genius, desperate ambition, and unprincipled nature, directed

directed his practice to enormities, which filled his purse, and increased his infamy. In this profession, he took the advantage of substituting his own name, instead of that of the legatee, in a will. For this mal-practice he was sent to prison, where he is said to have commenced his first acquaintance with Marat.

Plausible and insinuating in his discourse, he had the greatest power for popular delusion. With a voice gentle, words selected, and arguments accompanied with asseverations, that seemed dictated by the purest principles, he seduced the multitude into a most confident opinion of his patriotism and integrity.

Livid in complexion, puny in body, and brutal in countenance, many have been surprized that he should be capable of fascinating a people, so as to enable him to become the instrument of their destruction. His cruel, vindictive, and rapacious aspect, disgusted the sight, while his affected sentiments of patriotism extorted applause and admiration. The energy of his words supplied the deficiency of a voice, naturally weak, and enfeebled with disease. Possessing no passions which he could not controul, he was always sufficiently collected to take advantage of those of others, except when

hope left him no prospect of success but from desperation. It was his aim to deceive all, and to be duped by none. His friendship was to direct the acts of others to his own advantage; and his enmity was more excited against those to whom he owed the greatest obligations, than to his real and avowed opponents. Those who could no longer serve him, fell the victims of his ingratitude and disappointment. Such as he dreaded, he tried to delude into a confidence of his virtue; but his most open and inveterate foes have escaped his vengeance, by his not daring to lead them to sacrifice. He coalesced with every person that could aid his designs, and whose confidence he could obtain; but he retained more in his service by fear than by friendship. The most intimate of his associates, were the most jealous and suspicious of his principles. He owed his rise more to the error of popular opinion, than to any brilliancy of talent. His ambition began to pourtray itself, when he said, in 1784, that he wished to become Procureur General of the parliament of Paris, that he might excite public attention. In this situation, he saw the means of gratifying his insatiate thirst of fame. With this motive, he seems to have entered the States General. Here he is stated to have appeared a silly demoniac, and to have excited a general contempt of his talents.

Unassuming in success, simple in manners, negligent in dress, and moderate in his living, he appeared incorruptible to the people. By the transgressions of others, he justified himself. Whatever he determined to perpetrate, his pretence and excuse were founded on some plea of necessity, arising from a violence he would oppose, or an injury he would avert. A stranger to humanity, he never pardoned; but always punished, without remorse. His ferocity and sanguinary disposition, rendered him capable of every social outrage. This temper, aided by Marat, and afterwards by Barrere, Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas, impelled him to invite the populace, whom he governed, to incessant pillage and murder. Like the common robbers of the woods and forests in France, he first took the lives that he might afterwards despoil his victims.

Having established a considerable influence in the Jacobin club, his power was proportionably increased in the Constituent Assembly, and the Commune or Common Council of Paris. He thus laid the basis of his dictatorial structure on the ruins of his country's liberty and property. The Jacobins, blindly impelled by his factious principles, usurped the powers of the National Representatives, and rendered them,

them, for a considerable time, incapable of effective resistance. To preserve his influence, he caused his partizans to drown, with their clamours, every argument opposed to his sentiments. By this means, those who might have saved the country by displaying his vile designs, were obliged to leave the tribune to such as were more inclined to praise than censure his actions.

Becoming a favourite and prime minister of M. Egalité, he was supplied with the means of supporting his influence among the Jacobins, by rewarding his mercenaries with money taken from the coffers of his unprincipled patron. He was employed by Egalité in most of his meditated designs upon the government and royal family. Such zeal and abilities he displayed for intrigue, that he won the entire confidence of his employer. By his order, rumour has stated, that he gave poison to the Prince de Lambelle, and that he afterwards forged a will for the dead Prince, by which his Highness became heir to the Lambelle family possessions. But these were trifling villainies compared with those to which he was instigated by Egalité. The following anecdote is related of this infamous and detestable monster. A little spaniel, big with puppies, left her mat in the corner of the chamber,

chamber, and came towards his Highness, with all the attachment of the most faithful and affectionate of animals. She crouched, licked his feet, and offered him every sign of fondness, of which her nature was capable. In her ardency of love, the poor creature raised itself, and dirtied his white stockings. With the most savage indifference to the pleadings of humanity, he took the poor animal, and dropped it from the window on the iron spikes of the railing before his door. While she was dying in the greatest anguish, he is said to have called to the creature in those words and accents of invitation, which are used when such animals are wanted to approach us. For the honour of human nature, we hope this anecdote is a fiction. If it be true, it can only be said, that it is an act that could only be committed by a man who effected the murder of his Royal cousin, attempted adultery with his Queen, and hired assassins to murder all who obstructed his progress to sovereign usurpation. The following traits of such a composition of vice, folly, cruelty, and debauchery, may be acceptable to our readers. He affected the appearance of every superficial accomplishment, without possessing a single essential quality to constitute either the man of worth, or elegant courtier. Polite in exterior, he devoted himself to every art

art that could raise his consequence, or administer to his pleasures. Content with the appearance of a gentleman, he had no regard for any worth deserving respectability. To win the praise of this country, he affected our manners, without imitating any virtue we may possess. Profuse without generosity, lewd without attachment, debauched without gratification, splendid without respect, and savage without remorse, he lived a perpetual satire upon men of courts, of title, and of fortune. With no talent or discretion, his life was devoted to intrigue. Affecting to be a politician, he was always the dupe of his own opinion, and at last the victim of his execrable designs. Extravagantly fond of praise, he patronized the vilest and lowest sycophants. Narrow in his views, he perpetually deluded himself with the hope of possessing what his nature could never enjoy, nor his spirit achieve. Without genius, courage, or temper, he formed plans which exposed him to ridicule, exhausted his finances; and, at last, terminated his life with the ignominy of a tyrant, savage, would-be usurper, and an actual regicide.

This was the man to whom Robespierre directed his attention so successfully, as to win
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his confidence, possess his property, and sacrifice his existence.

The Jacobin Club being formed, Robespierre became one of those active members, who extended its power and authority above every other. He stimulated the members to institute an active correspondence throughout the kingdom, and, under the pretence of uniformity of opinion, subjected the will of all the provinces to their dictation. Thus was commenced that political schism, between the nobility and clergy on the one part, and the Tiers Etat on the other, which ended in the ruin of the former, and the subversion of the government.

The National Assembly being formed, on the 17th of June, 1789, from the Tiers Etat, agreeably to the proposal of the Abbe Siéyes, we find Robespierre rank among its members. He was one of those who, on the 20th, repaired to the Tennis Court, and suggested the oath which was taken, never to dissolve until they had given France a constitution. Had he been content with seeing this purpose effected, he might have lived with honour, and his country would have enjoyed happiness and prosperity. In all the violent proceedings which began to characterize the new National Assembly, he had a most considerable

considerable share in exciting the passions of others, without being perspicuously active himself. Cæmus, Mirabeau, Condorcet, and the Abbe Siéyes, were the most popular and leading orators. Mirabeau, with prompt feelings, daring energy, and fertile imagination, caused Robespierre to keep in the shade of silent envy. This is the character he has endeavoured to emulate in fame, without possessing the least of his perfections. He, however, by consummate intrigue and artifice, raised himself above him in power, although he sunk so far beneath him in ability. In Robespierre's oratory, you see no trace of those bold, decided, and determinate ideas, which rendered the speeches of Mirabeau so admirable. In all he ever said in the Jacobin Club or Convention, there is not a period to be found so forcibly daring and definite as the following reply, which Mirabeau made to the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, delivering the message of the King, to command the deputies to break up and repair to their respective chambers. His celebrated words were: "Go, tell those who sent you, that we sit here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the point of the bayonet."

By the intrigue of Robespierre, his patron, Egalité, was elected president, seemingly for the purpose of shewing the moderation of refusal.

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This sanguinary character is reported to have been the first to instigate every popular massacre. He, Marat, and others, proposed the beheading of De Launay, governor of the Bastille, without the form, mercy, or justice of a trial. Instigated by the savage cruelty of Egalité, he caused the heads of De Launay, Foulon, and Berthier, to be piked, and carried in triumph through the streets of Paris. As if to stimulate the appetite to slaughter, and to render the sight of blood familiar to a rabble whom they meant to employ in assassination, Robespierre dictated the most wanton and cannibal exposure of human victims, mangled with all the innate cruelty of the tyger.

Knowing that his rapacity for plunder could not safely be sated, without rendering anarchy the order of the day, he seems to have obtained, for this purpose, a seat in the National Assembly. All his actions had a tendency to tumult, plunder, and devastation. Instigated by the adherents of Robespierre, all the invalids in the fortress of the Bastille would have been slaughtered, had they not been prevented by the French Guards insisting upon their pardon. Robespierre, in his triumphant excesses in murderous enjoyment, forgetting the prisoners when he caused the keys of the Bastille to be sent to M. Brissot de Warville, a former inhabitant of

the despotic caverns, would have been the cause of their perishing, had not the doors been broken open, and the pining, famished wretches, been taken from their dungeons. The savage fury of Robespierre and Marat was fatally exercised on M. de Lofme Salbrai, the Major of the Bastille. He, however, would have been saved by the Marquis de Pelleport—who, having received from him the greatest kindness during five years imprisonment, interposed, had he not been struck down by a hatchet. The death of M. de Lofme instantly followed. These were the heads which Robespierre and his hired assassins caused to be displayed throughout Paris, with an exultation expressive of the most wretched cowardice and savage feelings. These inhuman excesses degraded the noble triumph gained by the destruction of a dungeon, thought impregably secured, as the instrument of submitting a people to the tyranny of despotism.

Although he did not perpetrate the act himself, Robespierre is accused of finding the assassin who shot M. de Fleffelles, Prévôt de Marchands, as he was crossing the Greve, accompanied by a number of persons to defend him.

Having sated his sanguinary thirst, he passed the night in the most tumultuous excesses. Con-
trary

trary to his accustomed forbearance, his joy, on this occasion, triumphed over his affectations of prudence. Marat, seconded by Robespierre, caused a price to be set upon the head of the Count d'Artois. This intelligence was timely brought by the Duke of Liancourt. To calm the perturbation and conciliate the confidence of the enraged people, Louis assured them, he meant them no injury, and ordered the immediate removal of the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis. Every eye glistened with tears of sympathy, except those of Robespierre, and his savage adherents. They were, however, obliged to join in an applause which generally pervaded the assembly. It is not to be supposed, nor have we been informed, that he took part in the pathetic air of—*Où peut on être mieux qu' au sein de sa famille*, that was immediately played by the music when the Queen appeared, with the Dauphin in her arms, at the balcony.

Three days were the heads of the massacred carried round Paris by the orders of Robespierre. A citizen, disgusted with such an incessant and abhorrent spectacle, persuading the multitude to desist, was himself thrown into the Seine. The following anecdotes of Berthier and Foulon are indispenfibly connected with the political memoirs of Robespierre. The latter
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having caused them to be borne round the city in such a state of inveterate malignancy, requires some account of what they were, and what actions could excite such a monstrous ferocity. M. Foulon had been commissary in the war of 1755, in which, by his rapacity and extortions, he is represented to have been the scourge of the vanquished, and the hatred of the victors. To excuse their cruelty, his enemies stated, that he avowed, as a favourite maxim, that no people could be better governed than such as were brought to feed upon grass. It is also asserted, that he said, if he was ever chosen minister, he would compel the commonalty to feed upon hay. Finding himself devoted to destruction, he retired, at the commencement of the riots, from Paris, and caused a report of his death to be circulated. To support this rumour, his funeral had been performed with a sumptuous ceremony, proportionable to his immense fortune. After his retirement to Very, the estate of M. de Sartines, his own vassals, tempted by bribes and promises, betrayed him to Robespierre, and his sanguinary banditti. On the 22d of July, he was brought to Paris, with a bundle of hay at his back, alluding to his own sentiments. The Committee at the Hotel de Ville, determined to send him to the prison of the Abbey St. Germain, where he might be de-

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tained until the return of tranquillity afforded an opportunity for an impartial trial. But the hirelings of Robespierre resisted this merciful proposal. The clamour for his instant sacrifice drowned every persuasion used by M. Bailly in favour of humanity, and against the injustice of condemning a citizen, however guilty, without hearing his defence. M. de la Fayette thought to have been able to have had him preserved from immediate slaughter, by proposing the detaining him, in order to discover his accomplice. This proposal was too powerful to be resisted even by Marat or Robespierre. And he would then, at least, have been saved, had he not unfortunately clapped his hands, as a token of exultation. His sanguinary enemies immediately took the advantage of crying, " They are con-
 " niving at his guilt. They are determined to
 " save him." This was sufficient to excite the rabble. He was instantly seized, and hung upon the lamp iron, then employed as the instrument of vengeance. Every circumstance of horror attended his execution. The rope, suspending him, breaking twice, detained him in an expiring state a quarter of an hour before another could be procured for his effectual execution. His head was cut off, and borne upon a pike, with his mouth stuffed with hay. This victim was 74 years old.

M. Berthier

M. Berthier had married the daughter of M. Foulon. Being Intendant of the Police, seems to have been the pretence of the cruel faction for implicating him in the fate of his father-in-law. He was seized at Compeigne, from whence he was conducted to Paris by one of the electors, with 400 horse. To apologize for his death, he was accused of peculation and extortion, of being the principal agent at the camp of St. Dennis, and, by speculating in grain, having caused its scarcity.

Arriving, unfortunately, on the evening that his enemies had imbrued their hands in the blood of his relation, his death was inevitable. However guilty he might be, he suffered with courage and dignity. During his journey to Paris, he conversed with the elector, M. Riviere, with the greatest tranquillity; but, when the bloody head of his father-in-law was presented to him, the dreadful sight divested him of his fortitude. Being asked, at the Hotel de Ville, respecting his conduct, he calmly answered, "that having obeyed the orders of his superiors, his papers would instruct them if he was guilty." It was determined to send him to the Abbey; but the concourse of people, round the Hotel, was too numerous to be penetrated. In vain did M. Bailly plead to silence the furious multitude.

multitude. M. La Fayette, on his knees, intreated that the public cause should be no more defiled with massacre; but the ferocious cruelty of Robespierre, Marat, and their adherents, prevailed. Being dragged to the fatal iron, he snatched a bayonet, and defended himself until he fell, pierced with innumerable wounds. A monster of cruelty, a dragoon, plunged his hand into his reeking entrails, tore out his heart, fixed it upon the point of a cutlass, and carried it through the streets as a trophy. The head was cut off, and carried with that of M. Foulon. Marat and Couteau are said to have been the bearers. The dragoon excused his brutality, by saying, what he did was in revenge for the death of a father. However this might be, his comrades, disgusted with his barbarity, fought him successively, until his death removed the dishonour his actions had brought upon their corps. He was killed the same evening.

To apologize for such cruelty is to partake of the crime. The agency of a mob is the most wretched alternative that can be possibly employed against oppression; but, with regard to the people—in the two sacrifices, they are known to have been the instruments of private enmity. At this moment, Robespierre had his

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hirelings, paid by the gold of D'Orleans, at the windows, stimulating the populace to outrage and murder. Among them, Robespierre, and even his patron, occasionally appeared, when their attendance at other places would admit.

When M. Neckar pleaded, with his distinguished pathos and sweetness, in favour of the Baron de Bezenval, and bearing the most honourable testimonies of his merit, the Assembly felt, for a moment, the enthusiasm of his humanity. The Baron, who had been taken in consequence of his being the commandant of the Swiss Guards, under Marshal Broglio, would have thus been preserved from the bloody proscriptions that were deluging Paris, had not the relentless Robespierre, and his party, opposed the general amnesty, obtained by M. Neckar, from the electors. This was no sooner known, than the Robespierrean party founded the alarm through the 60 districts of Paris. By his suggestions, they exclaimed, with the greatest violence, against the delegates, for assuming to themselves powers inimical to the rights of man. They said, the electors, who had been chosen to appoint deputies to the States General, had no such authority as that they had assumed. They even insinuated their having joined with M. Neckar to sacrifice the
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public welfare. These were the dictations of the desperate faction. They were unhappily too successful in stimulating the people to a renewal of their excesses. The alarm bells were sounded, the Place de Greve resounded with threatful vengeance, even at the moment of celebrating, with concerts and illuminations, the return of their quondam favourite M. Neckar to Paris. The electors, alarmed for themselves, proclaimed, that, in what they had done, they meant not to assume the judicial authority of condemning or acquitting the enemies of the nation. It was simply a declaration, that the citizens from that day would cease to punish any but according to law: and having sent to countermand the liberation of the Baron, they resigned the powers which the necessities of the times had obliged them to assume. This just and temperate conduct, caused an interesting and important debate in the National Assembly. The true friends of civil liberty, Messrs. Lally Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont Tonnerre, and Garat, junior, asserted, that no person ought to be arrested without a positive accusation. "Let us not be told," said they, "of popular clamours. If a mere suspicion be called a popular clamour, what citizen can be safe a single moment of that liberty which we are sent here to protect?"

Robespierre defended his intemperate thirst for more sacrifice, with observing, most unjustly and equivocally, that the present question was not relative to the general principles of civil liberty. He asserted, that the people had a right to arrest a man who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies, and who had fled the kingdom when the Assembly announced its intention of prosecuting the enemies of the nation.

He thus, with his usual sophistry, endeavoured to prove, that suffering the people to exercise the judicial and executive authority, was not against any principle of civil liberty. The very basis and preservation of every right, was he thus subverting. He would even have taken away the natural privilege the greatest criminal has, namely—that of escaping from any danger with which he may be threatened. The first and indispensable law of nations, as well as nature, he confounded, in support of his horrid vengeance. Fortunately, however, M. de Bezenval escaped the fate then awaiting him: being conducted to the castle of Brie-Compte Robert, and the messenger dispatched to prevent his being brought to Paris using extraordinary diligence, saved him from public execution; for not less than 30,000 ruffians waited for him at
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the Greve, where they had prepared a halter, and a gallows, to hang him.

But, however, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Santerre, and this murderous junto, had ensanguined the streets of Paris with slaughter; they had also extended it to the remotest provinces. Caen, in Normandy, Strasbourg, in Germany, became the theatres of human sacrifice. In stimulating the distant parts of the kingdom to vengeance, he caused his mercenaries to revive, in the minds of the peasantry, their natural abhorrence of the vassalage they suffered under the feudal system. This would have been but an effort of natural justice, had they been content with stating their grievances, and waiting, with moderate patience, to have seen if they were to be relieved. But to instigate the lower classes of people to immediate violence, displays at once the villain, and the savage. After committing the most dreadful massacres, they then demanded a release from seignorial oppressions. M. Noailles, to take away every pretence for such outrageous tumults, proposed that all taxes should be levied in proportion to the income of each individual, that the burthens of the state should be equally felt, that all feudal claims, not of a personal nature, should be redeemable at a fair valuation,

tion, and that all claims of the lord, not of a personal nature, should cease without ransom. These and other laws, extending the rights of the subject, evinced the disposition of the National Assembly to redress every grievance, and to remove the possibility of the people having the least cause for a continuance of their excesses. Feudal inferior courts of justice, suppression of places and emoluments, and the suppression of the game laws, were among the first acts in favour of the people. But Robespierre had so fomented the spirit of anarchy, that the populace, ungrateful for these benefits, still persevered in their cruelty and licentiousness. In some places, these popular decrees were made the pretence for new excesses. The game was, in particular, made a common prey; and the standing corn, so essential to their existence, was destroyed in the pursuit of the prey, now become the common right of all. Thus they first considerably occasioned the scarcity of grain, and afterwards made the price of bread another pretence for violence. Two electors of Paris, who were represented to the populace as monopolists, very narrowly escaped with their lives. By the vile machinations of this arch fiend of destruction, the whole kingdom was in such a state, that, by the slightest rumour, he produced the paroxysm of popular delusion
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and madness ; but the metropolis was the chief scene of his desperate efforts. Being the centre of political discussion, and where his influence was established in the Jacobin club, and among the populace, his artifices were more efficiently destructive. Generating among the people habits of suspicion, he prepared them for the perpetration of atrocity faster, if possible, than his fertile genius for malevolence could suggest new subjects and modes of vengeance. Every act, added to the number of murders they had committed, familiarized them to bloodshed. To this, may be attributed their atrocious endeavour to murder the Marquis de Salle, who had deserted the cause of his own order of nobility, to promote the welfare of the people. The pretence for this inhuman, ungrateful, and unprincipled cruelty, was founded on the following circumstance :—Information was given, by some of the miscreant agents of Robespierre, of a boat conveying some gunpowder. The inhabitants of Port St. Paul were secretly stationed to seize it. On further examination, they found it was conveying from the arsenal. This was, in their minds, sufficient cause for an immediate general alarm. Without attending to the truth of its being some damaged gunpowder, sending for exchange, as was afterwards proved by the examination of M. de la Voffiere,

Voffiere, and some others, who had the custody of the powder, they were determined to avail themselves of this pretence, to wreak their vengeance against De la Salle, who, acting under M. de la Fayette, signed the order for the exchange. In vain were they told it was *poudre de traite*; i. e. powder of an inferior quality, imported from Guinea. They immediately exclaimed it was *poudre de traître*, and excited each other to instant vengeance. M. de de Salle, arriving at this moment at the Hotel de Ville, would have fallen their victim had he not been timely apprized, so as to effect in secret his escape. Forty thousand desperadoes were now assembled, for the purpose of sacrificing a single individual to their fury, or rather to the envy, revenge, or jealousy of M. d'Orleans, Robespierre, or some one of that desolating party. To effect this purpose, a ruffian is said to have sat three quarters of an hour on the lamp-post, waiting, with a rope in his hand, to perpetrate the murder. Being disappointed, a banditti broke into the Hotel de Ville, and searched even the clock for the patriotic Marquis de la Salle. This moment of danger proportionably increased the presence of mind and courage of M. de la Fayette. By his spirit and discretion, he caused his faithful serjeant, insensibly, to collect such a number of the National

tional Guards, as effectually dispersed the mob, greatly disappointed in their meditated murder.

Robespierre, in the memorable debate on the royal veto, espoused that party which opposed its absolute adoption. They stated, that it was essentially requisite to separate the legislative and executive powers, and that the natural and proper functions of a king did not, in any instance, constitute him an essential integrant branch of the legislature. It was difficult, they observed, to distinguish the right of stopping proceedings and the right of action. The right of stopping proceedings, vested in the executive power, would be to make it superior to the majority of the legislature. They asserted it would be a letter de cachet against the national supremacy. With this specious political sophistry, Robespierre and his adherents endeavoured to make the royal veto not a letter de cachet, but a dead letter in political authority. This important question being likely to be carried against Robespierre and his anti-monarchical party, the populace were again excited to vengeance. Thus, when any act seemed to promise something adverse to their views of aggrandizement, the people of Paris were employed to awe them from their purposes by threats of instant

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murder.

murder. So far did the violence proceed on this occasion, that a list was shewn of several members of the assembly, that were marked for destruction. The firmness, however, of the National Assembly so far prevailed as to decree the suspensive veto for two successive legislatures.

So daring and violent had been the endeavours of Robespierre, to promote the designs of d'Orleans, that the Members of the Convention could not but be sensible of his infamous intention to subvert the monarchy, in order to possess immediately the government himself, or to have it dependent on his influence. He was openly accused of criminal designs on the crown, or at least the regency. Knowing the cause that he had given for this accusation, M. de la Fayette persuaded him to retire from Paris, until these suspicions might subside. The noble Marquis was certainly induced to give this advice from his desire to preserve order, peace, and unanimity. This impression against d'Orleans had extended itself into the provinces; for he was stopped, notwithstanding his passport, by the Municipality at Bologne, until an order from the National Assembly could be obtained for his liberation.

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On all debates respecting the royal prerogative, Robespierre never failed to take a decided part in favour of reducing it to a shadow of power. With the desire of investing the people, indiscriminately, with every species of legislative, judicial, and executive power, it is no wonder he endeavoured to have the legislature invested with the power of making war or peace. He who could say that the people had a right to arrest a man, who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies, was surely prepared to invest the National Assembly with the power of declaring hostilities against every state they imagined could be cajoled, or reduced, to his views of plundering fraternization,

Among the various enormities committed by the populace, agreeably to the instigations of Robespierre, Marat, and Couteau, we find the following anecdote, respecting an Englishman, deserves particular notice,

The insurrections commencing at Vernon, as well as Alençon, and other provincial places, a Mr. Planter, Deputy of the Commune of Paris, became the object of their fury. Being sent by the magistrates to purchase corn, he was seized by the inhabitants, and, after a mock trial, was tied round the neck with the cord destined for

his execution. At this moment, Mr. Nesham, a young Englishman, rushed alone amid the murderers, and rescued him from the death he was instantly going to suffer. For this act of courage and humanity, the young hero was rewarded with the first civic crown worn in France.

Although Robespierre does not seem to have been materially concerned in the abolition of titles in France, yet, from his levelling principles, he may be supposed to have promoted it by his influence, if not by his arguments in the Assembly. Had he done no other violence, he should have had our praise instead of censure. To abolish a nobility formed with no essential design, function, or respect, the honour and prosperity of the free constitution, then establishing, rendered indispensable. The offices and the emoluments of the state being monopolized by the nobles, demanded their extinction. They were worms in the constitution, which destroyed its vigour, and debased its character. Derided by foreigners, and despised by their own country, it is no wonder they saw, themselves, the necessity of resuming the character of men, and depending on worth and talents alone for eminence and distinction. So fallen were titles, in estimation, that many persons who possessed several counties and marquisesates, disdained to assume

assume the concomitant honours. Among these, M. de St. Fargeau was conspicuous. Although he had many estates, which might have afforded him titular distinction, he depended alone on his personal merit for eminence of character.

So great was the triumph of Robespierre when he heard the King was taken in his flight, by the Mayor of St. Menchoud, that he thought no honours could be too great for those who were concerned in the apprehending of the Royal Family. Scarcely had the letter from the Commissioners sent to escort their Majesties and their attendants back to Paris, been read, than Robespierre moved that a *civic crown* should be given to Mr. Margin, a surgeon, who aided, and the two National Guards who stopped, the royal carriages. This was, however, referred to future consideration.

When M. Thourot suggested that, as the King might have been carried off by violence, or misled by perfidious alarms, the crime should be characterized, and the guilty delivered to the vengeance of the law, Robespierre seems to have thought himself implicated in this enquiry. He opposed it with the greatest zeal. He would not have it supposed that any person could have the least criminal intentions against the person
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of the King. "To foresee crimes," said he, "where none exist, is to create them." And to cover his malignant designs against Royalty, he, with the most consummate artifice and hypocrisy, declared it was the duty of every civil and military person to protect the return of the king, and to arrest all who dared, in any manner, to violate the respect due to sovereignty.

These arguments he soon abandoned. When a debate arose respecting the National Assembly appointing commissioners to receive the declarations of the King and Queen respecting their late flight, he gave his most decided opposition. He asserted, that the King and Queen ought to be interrogated by the same tribunal as any subject under arrest. "When they are," said he, "to account for their conduct to the nation, they are no more than citizens. It is said, we ought not to disgrace the royal family. I think we ought not. But who can be disgraced by submitting to the law?"

The Assembly seeing the inconsistency, the indecent, and unnecessary violence of such arguments, appointed M. Tronchet, M. Dondre, and M. Duport, as commissioners, to receive the declarations from their Majesties.

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The late violences committed by the populace, being known to originate with the intriguing parties assembled at inns, lodging-houses, gaming-houses, coffee-houses, clubs, and brothels, in Paris, a committee of the constitution produced a work on the police. M. Demunier having, in the name of this committee, presented it to the Assembly, Robespierre and others opposed its adoption. As it contained an order for all societies, under the denomination of clubs, to give notice to the Assembly of the day and hour of their meeting, Robespierre and his machinating party felt alarms at the danger of their favourite plots being thus exposed and disconcerted, by the inspective vigilance of the legislature. This order was, however, decreed.

Robespierre being jealous of the growing power and popularity of Brissot, sought most anxiously every opportunity of effecting his ruin, and sacrificing him to his ambition. At this time, many of the members were under the influence of terror, from the designing and desperate temper which they saw directed the actions of Robespierre and his party. Having two or three hundred assassins at their disposal, the National Assembly were afraid to rise in a body to protect the prisoners who were slaughtered without any legal trial. So timid were they in their proceedings,

proceedings, amidst these violences, that they only sent deputations, consisting of six or eight of their number, to oppose the murders that were perpetrating. By this weakness and in-
 ertion of the legislative power, which should have commanded the civil authorities to have preserved the people from such outrages, 700,000 persons were obliged to suffer 200 persons only to commit the massacres in August and September. But amid this palsy, which had stricken the authority of the government, M. Roland, the minister, sent repeated messages to Santerre, who commanded the National Guards, to come and protect the prisoners. But M. Santerre being under the influence of Robespierre, and one of the creatures of Egalité, disregarded the messages, and withheld his forces. Nothing could evince more the height of power to which Robespierre had now risen, than his screening Santerre from being brought to justice by the National Assembly, for this civil delinquency, and daring to accuse Brissot, a republican of the most zealous integrity. He charged him with having been bought by the Duke of Brunswick. This charge had no substantial proofs. All its support was the customary assertions and declamations of this arch fiend. Supposing, that, in consequence of having accused him, it was sufficient to mark him for assassination,

nation, he thought proofs were unnecessary when the hands of his bravoës were, in his mind, already raised for his murder. This fate of Brissot excited, justly, the alarms of many in the Convention. Among these were, particularly, the Members who had voted on the 7th of August in favour of La Fayette. This was the cause of their not exerting themselves, with that vigour they would otherwise have done, in favour of the devoted prisoners. To keep the people from interfering in their favour, perpetual alarms from the frontiers were spread, the tocsin was sounded, and feigned conspiracies propagated. This withheld the citizens of Paris, who saw, with horror, the proceedings—but yet were so suspended in their opinions, that they had no powers of discriminating between the guilty and the innocent.

Security and freedom were now, by Robespierre's influence and outrage, banished the National Assembly. To this may be attributed the unanimous decisions which have passed on questions the most important; and which, if freely debated, must have excited a difference of opinion between the honest patriot and the sanguinary parricide. Those who opposed each other, on the three days preceding the 10th of August, joined in their votes, on most

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questions,

questions, for some time after; but, indeed, so marked were the members for insult and assassination, that the poniard might be said to be suspended over their heads while exercising their legislative functions. M. Vaublanc was first hooted and abused, and next attempted to be assassinated, for having proposed the previous question to the decree against M. La Fayette.

The General Council, elected by the Sections on the 9th of August, of which Robespierre was the popular, leading, and efficient member, influenced and controuled the National Assembly. Aided by this council, Robespierre caused, on the 9th of August, the barriers to be shut, a prodigious number of citizens to be arrested, and the prisons filled with victims, devoted for sacrifice on the 2d of September.

Although Robespierre was most daring in his harangues, yet he personally retired from the scenes of slaughter. Conscious that, in the confusion of such desperate outrage, he might be justly selected as the instigator, and suffer by the hand of some zealous patriot, he withdrew himself, and even avoided appearing in the Commune for two or three days after it was constituted. He was, however, known to be the secret power which directed all its energies.

Marat

Marat being chosen a member of the General Council of the Commune, carried into effect the dictates of Robespierre. Dr. Moore says of this monster, "that, it was reported, he loved carnage like a vulture, and to delight in human sacrifices like Moloch, God of the Ammonites,

This savage was found so useful, that Robespierre, aided by Danton, minister of justice, caused him to be chosen a deputy to the Convention for the department of Paris. To render him less odious to the people and the Convention, Chabot, a quondam Franciscan, undertook his eulogy. "Marat," said he, "is reproached of being sanguinary, and of having, by example, contributed to the massacre in the prisons;" but in this he acted in the spirit of revolution. Was it natural, that while villains were at the frontiers, to remain here exposed to the fury of the prisoners, who were promised arms and liberty for our assassination? He is said to be sanguinary for having demanded, more than once, the blood of the Aristocrates, and even the blood of the corrupt members of the Constituent Assembly; but it is known, that the plan of the Aristocrates has always been to make a carnage of all the Sans Culottes. And as the number of these is 99 to 1, it is evident that he who demanded the death of 1, to avoid

the death of 99, is not sanguinary. Nor is he an incendiary; for he proposed to give the Sans Culottes the spoils of the Aristocrates. How can he, therefore, be accused of wishing to burn them?"

In this curious defence, Marat is tacitly confessed to have demanded more than once the blood of the Aristocrates, and to have plundered the latter to enrich the former; but this encomium, upon plunder and massacre, was thought insufficient without the aid of Robespierre, who, in displaying the qualities which a deputy to the National Convention ought to possess, adverted to Marat and Legendre, as possessing them in the most eminent degree, and, therefore, the most worthy of being chosen by the Electoral Assembly. They were accordingly deputed. Robespierre seemed to have selected Legendre as a fit colleague for Marat, from his being by profession a butcher. And having caused him to be chosen as a creature to promote his cruel purposes, justice seems to have never more evenly weighed punishment in her scales of retribution, than causing Robespierre to fall by the very man he had selected to assist him so immediately in the fall of others.

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It is remarkable how he secluded himself, while he was instigating Albite, Bazire, Demoulines, Camille, Merlin of Thionville, and Chabot, to preach revolt in the different suburbs. These members of the Jacobin Society were greatly assisted by M. Barbaroux, leader of the *Fédérés* from Marseilles, and Santerre, commander of the National Guards. Having these powers in his favour, he had only to dictate, to have his meditated insurrection completely effected. Barbaroux, who was afterwards chosen a deputy from Marseilles, considerably assisted: he had no other connection with Danton, but was intimately attached to the partizans of Roland.

Robespierre avoided appearing also while Danton, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, and others, were new modelling the general council of the Commune. Nor is he mentioned on the 9th and 10th of August, when Guadet and Vergniaud presided alternately in the Assembly. Although he was the chief in the Jacobin Club, yet he most cautiously avoided appearing even there until his savage purposes were effected by the slaughter of the Swiss, and the imprisonment of the Royal Family. He then appeared, and got himself elected of the General Municipal Council. Here he was a leading member. He, Panis, Servan, and Legendre, were the most assiduous

assiduous in causing the numerous arrests, and filling the prisons, with those devoted to slaughter on the 2d of September.

The Republican party, concerned in the insurrection of the 10th of August, having no connection with the massacres of the 2d of September, desired an enquiry into these horrid transactions. These were all attached to the honest principles of Roland. This enquiry was, consequently, opposed by Robespierre, Danton, Chabot, Camille, Demoulines, Merlin, Collot d'Herbois, Bazire, Marat, and Albite. Marat proscribed them in his bloody journal, and exposed them, by every means in his power, to popular fury. The party being thus successful, and appearing to possess an established influence, tempted Egalité openly to avow his approbation. He was before contented with patronizing them in secret; but he now evinced the strongest symptoms of attachment to Robespierre and his followers. All his machinations began, at this moment, to appear in the shape of a regular system, raised to elevate himself, and the party, on the wrecks of royalty so recently destroyed.

This alarmed those who had exerted themselves to establish a Republic. They began to perceive

perceive they had been the dupes of tyrants. They, who had fondly flattered themselves with the hopes of sharing in the government, began to apprehend, that, instead of possessing any department in the state, they might be led to sacrifice in the same manner as they had themselves led those who first assisted in destroying despotism, and forming the constitution.

The progress by which M. Egalité directed his hopes, is a climax of the most consummate affectation of patriotism, and the most absolute perpetration of villainy. He first destroyed the monarchy, under the pretence of establishing a free constitution; he next destroyed that free constitution, under the pretence of establishing a Republic; and, after the Republic was formed, he endeavoured to resume despotism, by exalting himself into the tyranny of a Dictator. Thus, through every stage of these revolutions, those who have, by false promises and vain hopes, sacrificed others, have been afterwards sacrificed themselves. Desirous of preserving their newly acquired power, they have strengthened the factions by which they have fallen.

While Robespierre was employed by Egalité, to promote his views of being raised to the government of France, Robespierre was meditating

dictating how he should possess this power himself. Lasource betrayed the design of establishing a Dictator to Merlin de Thionville, who immediately communicated it to the Assembly, and called upon Lasource to announce the name of the intended Dictator, that he might instantly receive from the poniard the reward of his designs against the liberties of the Republic. He evaded a direct answer, by saying, that he had only observed, that such were already dictators as pointed out the best patriots for victims to assassination. He, however, added, "Let those men of blood tremble when they are informed, that the same power as hurled the tyrant from his throne, will not long suffer the despotism of others."

Rebequi, one of the Marseilles deputies, accused the partizans of Robespierre of a design to create him Dictator.

To prevent any further discussion of a subject, in which he thought himself endangered, Danton moved, that the pains of death should be decreed against any person who attempted to destroy the unity of France. Knowing that Buzot, Vergniaud, Guadet, and others, were anxious to punish those who had, directly or indirectly, promoted the murder of the prisoners, he

he intimidated them from prosecuting the assassins, by threatening them with charges that should subject them to the punishment of the above decree; but Buzot soared above his threats. "Who is it," he exclaimed, "that thinks of disuniting France? I propose, that a guard, furnished by the 83 departments, shall protect the Convention. This I propose to preserve union, by shewing that its members are under the care of the whole community. Those who oppose this measure, will seem indeed to desire a disunion."

To prevent the effect of this perspicuous reasoning, Robespierre endeavoured to overwhelm it with a torrent of sophistry. Agreeably to the constant practice of this designing, tyrannical egotist, he displayed his patriotism; his incorruptible integrity; and the services he had rendered the state while a member of the Constituent Assembly. This pleasing theme to himself, so exhausted the patience of his auditors, that one of the members cried out, "Robespierre veux tu bien terminer cette longue kyrielle, declare nous franchment en quatre mots tes sentimens et non ta vie passée." Wouldst thou terminate this tedious harangue, declare, in four words, your sentiments, and not your past life. He still persisted in his strain of

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egotism;

egotism; and, after continuing for an hour longer in his favourite theme, he concluded with the most solemn protestations of love for his country, and asserting, how incredible were any alledged designs of his against the freedom of the country. This conclusion he ended, with retorting upon his accusers, the design of dividing France into Federate States.

Barbaroux declared, that the associates of Robespierre, and particularly Panis, had told him, that it was necessary a Dictator should be created for a certain time; and that Robespierre, possessing such popularity and patriotism, was the most eligible for such an office.

Panis attempted to defend himself for having said this, by stating, "Is it possible that Barbaroux, whom I love, could believe, I ever meant such a measure to be adopted?" Barbaroux persisted in the charge. "Who, beside yourself," cried Panis, "can witness I ever made such a proposal?" "I can," replied Rebequi, "I heard you." This confounded Robespierre, Panis, and the whole party, until Marat ascended the tribune, amid the murmurs and execrations of the whole Assembly. "It appears," said Marat, without emotion, "that some of this Assembly are my personal enemies."

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"All, all ! we are all your enemies !" resounded throughout the Assembly. After lamenting the general delusion, he assumed an air of spirit. With a full voice, elevated to its utmost extent of power, he assumed an appearance of courage and consequence. "It is I, and I only," said he, "who thought of appointing a Dictator, who would apply *the axe of justice to the necks of the guilty.*"

This inflated declaration excited a momentary mirth in the indignant members of the Assembly ; but Vergniaud reading the following letter to the Assembly, convinced them where the crime of the late assassination resided :

"Brethren and friends, a horrid plot, formed by the court, to cut the throats of all the patriots of the French empire ; a plot, in which a great number of the National Assembly were concerned, having, on the 9th of last month, reduced the Commune of Paris to the cruel necessity of using their power to save the nation, the Commune has neglected nothing to merit the applause of the country.

"After the acknowledgments the National Assembly has given the Commune, could it be supposed, that new plots were secretly projecting, bursting at that moment when the National

Assembly, forgetting she had declared that the Commune of Paris had saved the country, hastened to dissolve it, as a reward for its ardent civism?

“ Proud of possessing the plenitude of National confidence, which she is determined more and more to deserve; placed in the centre of all the conspiracies, and resolved to perish for the public welfare, she glories in having fulfilled her duty, and having obtained your approbation, which is the object of all her wishes, and of which she cannot be certain until all the departments have sanctioned her measures for the salvation of the public. Professing the principles of the most perfect equality, the Commune is not ambitious of any other privilege than that of presenting themselves the first at the breach, and placing themselves on the level with the lowest and smallest community of the empire, when the people have nothing more to fear.

“ Informed that hordes of barbarians had advanced against France, the Commune of Paris hastened to inform their brethren of all the departments, that a body of ferocious conspirators, detained in prison, had been murdered by the people, thus performing acts of justice, indispensable for the retaining, by terror, the legions
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of traitors, concealed within the walls, at the very moment when citizens were marching to the enemy. Without doubt, the long train of treasons which have led the country to the brink of annihilation, will cause France to endeavour to adopt a measure so useful and expedient. All the French will say, as well as the Parisians, let us march to the enemy; but *let us not leave behind these banditti, to cut the throats of our wives and our children.*"

This epistle was signed by Duplain, Jourdeuil, Panis, Sergent, l'Enfant, Marat, Leclerc, Dufortre, &c. as administrators of the Committee of Public Safety.

Thus were the people stimulated and encouraged to murder all the prisoners, with every ferocity of the blood-thirsty assassin. This letter, written in the character of magistracy, evinces to what a desperate state of Syllaian proscription the junto of Robespierre reduced the government of France.

Instead of this signal for murder exciting the vengeance of the Assembly, so as to decree an accusation of Panis, Marat, and the rest, it only produced a confused and clamorous cry for the order of the day. Couthon, seeing the timidity of the Assembly, gave the *coup de grace* to the meditated accusation of these ensanguined conspirators.

spirators. He observed, that they should leave all personal accusations, and join in performing their more important duties, required by the pressing emergencies of the state. This was approved and supported by those who dreaded the enquiry. The order of the day being agreed to, Marat, who remained in the Tribune, pulled a pistol from his pocket, and held it to his head, saying, "I now declare to you, citizens, had you decreed an accusation against me, I would thus have blown out my brains before you." This evinces to what a state of cowardice his conscious criminality had reduced him. Convinced that, if accused, he must have been found guilty, and consequently punished for his enormities, he had not the spirit to wait the issue. Rather choosing to die by his own hands than those of an executioner, he was determined to finish his train of murders by shooting himself. But, however, fate prevented his falling by his own hands, and reserved him for the sacrifice of a woman, who, by ridding her country of such a monster, has placed herself among the most glorious of patriots in the temple of Fame.

Although the majority of the Convention wished to accuse Robespierre and his junto, yet so much were they awed by the Mountain, that they

they durst not prosecute the measure. Whenever any of them mounted the Tribune for that purpose, or any other inimical to these assassins, they were hooted and abused by hirelings placed in the galleries. In defiance of the decree against such modes of censure or applause, these mercenaries persisted perpetually in their tumults.

The desire which the more moderate part of the Convention had, to have an armed force for their protection, was most carefully checked by the influence of Robespierre.

His violent speeches in the Constituent Assembly, and his detestable measures in the Jacobin Club, evinced a malignity of heart, which all his artifice could not conceal. Breathing the most invective censure of tyrants and Aristocrats, he deluded a people into an admiration of his declamatory pretensions to patriotism. Although possessing no force or ingenuity of argument, he affected rhetorical flowers to dress his oral inanities. His most favourite figure was justly observed to be that of antithesis.

The enthusiasm with which Robespierre covered his villainy, caused many to suppose his errors

errors arose more from an intemperate zeal than consummate atrocity. Refusing every office of emolument, he won the confidence of the people, who thought his chief ambition was popularity. So artful did he manage his passions and desires, that even several among his enemies thought him incorruptible against every pecuniary temptation.

Robespierre supported Danton in his terrific measures and executions, in order to raise himself on the destruction of this daring, fearless, unprincipled villain. He supported him in the accusation and sacrifice of Brissac, Delessart, Montmorin, and Rochefoucauld.

Robespierre having studied the character of Danton, directed his disposition, and stimulated his actions, to affect what he, at this moment, dared not attempt. He encouraged Danton to commit the greatest violences, that he might have the most unequivocal proofs for his accusation and ruin. Every terrific plan, with which Danton perpetually kept the members of the Convention in awe of his desperation, was suggested, cherished, and supported by Robespierre. He encouraged the rabble to obey the dictates of Danton, while he himself was professing the purest principles of patriotism. Marat, Chabot, and

and others, prevailed upon the Sections of Paris to send an address to the Convention against Brissot. It was Robespierre who assisted Danton in spreading every rumour, to render Roland and the Girondists odious in the public opinion.

Danton, as unprincipled as he was boundless and desperate in his ambition, had no particular attachment to any system of government, provided he was on the pinnacle of power. Although he loved, to excess, authority, he was never heard to aspire to any personal elevation. He is, therefore, thought to have been more anxious to be the ruler of a party, than the sovereign of a people.

The Girondists, wishing to save the King, caused Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, to avail themselves of this circumstance, for accusing them as Aristocrates, and disaffected to Republican freedom.

Robespierre caused Marat, as the agent of him and Danton, to declare, that it would be unjust, and a violence against Equality, after condemning M. de la Porte, and other inferior criminals, to suffer the greatest of all to escape.

It appeared, from a memorial of Roland, read by the secretary, Lanjuinois, that the minister had, in vain, enquired for an account of the plate, money, and effects, seized by the commissioners from the Commune at Senlis, Chantilly, l'Hotel de Coigny, and other hotels; that he, in vain, desired to know how the Royal Family were treated in the Temple; and that the massacres of September had been committed by Robespierre, and the other leaders of the common council. He also declared, they were still meditating the most desperate system of plunder and assassination, to gratify still further their avarice and ambition.

Information was also given, in a letter addressed to the minister of justice, that the bloody work of September was not completed; for the party of Roland and Brissot were to be destroyed. For this purpose, Vergniaud, Buzot, Guadet, and Lafource, were already devoted to the vengeance of the real patriots, as they were pleased to term themselves. In this letter, Robespierre was described as the most proper person to assume, in such a state of alarming affairs, the government.

This information aroused the indignant members. "Ah! the villain!" cried one aloud.

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The Assembly were so much enraged against Robespierre, that scarcely a person could be heard distinctly. A general cry resounded in the Assembly, that the memorial and letter should be printed, and sent to all the departments and municipalities.

He ascended the tribune, when his voice was drowned in the clamours against him. But being heard to wish, that he might be suffered to vindicate his innocence against the minister's calumny, he was interrupted. He then wished to speak against the memorial being printed. This was opposed by a general negative. Being at last allowed to speak, he began as usual with a few sentences relating to the question, in order to introduce his own panegyric. Guadet, the President, reminded him of the question; and this he really bore in mind until he had an opportunity of revenging himself by the downfall and destruction of Guadet.

His insolence to the President, caused a member to exclaim, "He thinks himself already our Dictator."

Guadet desired him to speak to order.

An outcry against his leaving the subject of debate again drowned his voice.

Although the President broke three bells, endeavouring to keep silence, Robespierre unjustly accused him of promoting the clamour against him.

He still persisted to speak of himself, and in the most flattering terms. So egregious an egotist was Robespierre, that he could not possibly resist the pleasure he received in extolling himself. Being conscious that he deserved not the praise of others, he was determined to have his own applause. So elated was he with his own panegyric, that he assumed a courage which extended to rashness. "A system of calumny is found," said he, in a voice of the greatest exultation, "against a most zealous patriot. Yet, who dares arise, and accuse me to my face?"

"I," exclaimed a voice. A profound silence prevailed, while Jean Baptiste Louvet, a thin, pale-faced man, like a spectre, stalked along the hall, until he stopped opposite Robespierre in the Tribune. Fixing his indignant eyes on him—"Yes, Robespierre, it is I who accuse you!"

Robespierre became pale and motionless. Had he seen one of the heads of his slaughtered victims

victims before him, he could not have been more appalled. He shrunk on one side of the Tribune, while Louvet ascended it, and appeared in front.

"Continue, Robespierre," cried Danton, "there are many good citizens present to hear you."

This hint had no effect upon his partizans in the gallery. They remained neuter.

Robespierre attempting again to speak, without being able to be heard amidst the prevailing confusion, quitted the Tribune.

To prevent Louvet being heard, Danton ascended it. He proposed to defer the consideration of the memorial and letter until a future day. This he thought would set aside the accusation of Robespierre, until they were better prepared with a defence. While in the Tribune, Danton, perceiving the disgust of the Convention against Marat, affected to join in their sentiments on this occasion. However, his sincerity was, in this particular, suspected. He said, "I declare to the whole Republic, that I love not that individual Marat. I declare, with frankness, that I have experienced
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his temper, and that he is not only turbulent and peevish, but unfociable."

Danton, however, did not prevent Louvet pursuing his purpose. He persevered, until the Assembly passed a decree that he should be heard.

He stated, that as he meant to mention such things as would, to some persons present, be mortally offensive, he requested that the President would take care that he should be heard without interruption. He observed, that some, being already fore, would be apt to scream when he came to touch their tender parts. Danton cried aloud, "I desire that the accuser would put his finger in the wound."

"I intend it," replied Louvet, "but why does Danton scream beforehand?"

Louvet began his accusation with stating, that Robespierre established his influence in the Jacobin Club by introducing numbers of his hirelings, and forcibly driving from it the most respectable members. That he then caused himself to be chosen a member of the Council General of the Commune, where, by the same means, he acquired

acquired the same influence. He accused him of not appearing on the 10th of August; but, like Sofia in the play, not being seen until after the battle. That, on the 12th, he presented himself to the Commune, when he caused all the citizens to be arrested. His orders were given to arrest Roland and Brissot. He declared, that the massacres of September, belonged to Robespierre and his party. Tallien, and some others, who were then of Robespierre's faction, and members of the Commune, began to murmur. Louvet, with great energy, exclaimed, "Yes, barbarians! to you belong the horrid massacres of September, which you impute to the citizens of Paris." On the 10th of August, it is true, the citizens were all present at the Tuilleries; but not more than two or three hundred were spectators at the prisons. It has been asked, why the citizens, composed of 700,000 persons, did not prevent the massacres? To this I answer, the citizens of Paris were struck with terror, the alarm guns were fired, the tocsin sounded, their ears filled with false alarms, and their eyes astonished at municipal officers, dressed in scarfs, and presiding at executions. Added to this, Danton, the minister of justice, was silent; and Santerre, the commander of the National Guards, was inactive. This insolent demagogue, soon
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after these lamentable scenes, frequently insulted and calumniated the Legislative Assembly.

The adherents of Robespierre interrupting Louvet, Lacroix mounted the Tribune. He declared, that, while he was President of the Legislative Assembly—but not in the chair, Robespierre, heading a deputation of the Commune, appeared with a petition at the bar. This he opposed, when Robespierre said to him, that if the Assembly would not freely adopt his demands, he would force them by sounding the tocsin. He then stated, that he immediately took the chair as President, and related the menace of Robespierre to the Assembly.

Testimony of this threat being given by other members, the relation of Lacroix required no further confirmation. It was observed by one, that the friends of Lacroix endeavoured to dissuade him from going to his own house that evening by the terrace of the Feuillans, that he might avoid the assassins, who, they informed him, were, to their knowledge, posted in this place to murder him.

This increased the indignant horror against Robespierre, who now vainly endeavoured to
mount

mount the Tribune. It was stated, that a man accused of such atrocity, ought to be heard from the Bar, instead of the Tribune.

Robespierre persisting, the Assembly resolved that he should not be heard until Louvet had finished his accusation.

Louvet then stated, that this insolent demagogue had, with incessant proscriptions in his mouth, accused some of the most worthy representatives with having sold the nation to Brunswick. He accused them before the assassination began. In his sanguinary proscriptions, all the ministers, except one, were included, and this was always the same individual. "Danton," said Louvet, "will you be able to justify your character for that exception?" We are not to be blinded with your censure of Marat, that *enfant perdu de l'assassinat*. It was your influence and harangues which blackened Priestley, white-washed Marat, and caused him now to be in the Convention. This induced me to speak against such a candidate; but retiring, those men, with whom the future Dictator was ever accompanied, surrounded me with sabres and bludgeons. These body-guards of Robespierre, during the massacres, with threatening countenance,

nance, told me frequently—"It will be your turn soon."

When accusation was proscription, Louvet observed, that Robespierre calumniated and unjustly accused the most deserving citizens. He insulted, menaced, and domineered over the National Assembly. By terror and intrigue, he influenced the elections of the electoral assemblies of Paris, and attempted to possess supremacy of power. For these reasons, he demanded that a committee should be appointed to examine his conduct.

He then accused Marat as the creature of Robespierre, and the man who declared that he wished to see 260,000 heads fall at his feet. He concluded with hoping, that a decree might be passed against all the monsters, instigating murder, and the tearing of the Republic to pieces. He desired also a decree for the military force, in the department of Paris, to be called out, and ordered to act in quelling any future commotions.

Robespierre desired, that the 5th of November might be appointed for him to answer the above charges. So great was his consternation, and his

his failure of spirits, in consequence of this severe and unexpected attack, that he lost all faculty of reply or recollection. The firmness of Louvet was considerably admired. So indignant were the hearers of the charges against Robespierre, that many thought his life in imminent danger.

Two or three days after, Robespierre was again the object of crimination by Barbaroux, who made against him a most spirited harangue. He asked if twenty-five millions of men were to bend their heads to a faction of thirty. He informed the Assembly, that immediately before the 10th of August, Robespierre invited Rebiqui and him to his house, where he suggested the necessity of rallying all our forces under some popular chief. Panis, when taking leave, named Robespierre as the most proper for being Dictator. Robespierre, himself, he said, proposed in the Committee of twenty-one, that the commune should form itself into a jury of accusation, a jury of judgment, and a tribunal for applying the law. Here he reminded the Assembly of Robespierre having the chief influence in this general council of the commune, with which he was so desirous of investing with prescriptive powers. "This is the man," said he, "who came to your bar, and threatened the

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representatives with sounding the tocsin if they did not choose one whom he thought eligible to dictate."

Robespierre ascending the tribune on the appointed day for his defence, he complained that some females were kept at the door, while other females, with privileged tickets, had easily entered. His oratory being much admired by the sex, the galleries were almost entirely filled with women. When expected to speak in the Jacobin Club, the proportion of females was, on those nights, greater than usual.

The limits of this publication not permitting the memorable defence of Robespierre in detail, we can only state a few of the most striking points. "If aiming at supreme power be criminal," said he, "it must be allowed to be still more daring. I must not only have subverted the throne, but have annihilated the legislature, and taken particular care not to have suffered it to be replaced by a Convention. On the contrary, I first proposed a National Convention as the only means of saving the country."

Here it must be observed, his artifice was most conspicuous. Being no member of the Legislative Assembly, he proposed this measure in
order

order that he might be possessed of a place where, aided by his creatures, he could more effectually promote his inordinate ambition.

"To arrive," said he, "at the dictatorship, I must not only have rendered myself master of Paris, but also of all the other eighty-two departments. Where were my treasures? Where were my armies? What strong fortified places had I secured? My enemies were in possession of these. Without these, such an attempt would have proved me a madman?"

"That would not be difficult," exclaimed a deputy. "Having proved this," said Robespierre, "they must prove also that a madman is dangerous to a state." The same deputy answered, "Madmen are the most redoubtable."

Robespierre then proceeded to deny having had much connection with Marat. He denied that Marat had been deputed to the Convention by his assistance. He was chosen for being known to have a mortal enmity to aristocrats.

The despotism of opinion I am accused of having obtained in the Jacobin Club, I acquired by reasoning. Having accused me, the next step of Louvet will be, perhaps, to demand the proscription

proscription of the Jacobins. He then defended the general council of the Commune, by observing, that such patriots had too much energy to have the esteem of monarchical slaves. "When the Roman Consul," said he, "had suppressed Cataline's conspiracy, Clodius accused him of having violated the laws; the Consul stated, in defence, that he had saved the Republic."

In answer to the charge of having sent Commissioners to various departments, he, with the most consummate insolence asked—"What! could it be imagined a single coup de main, and seizing the Thuilleries, could complete the revolution? Was it not necessary to communicate to all France the salutary commotion which had electrified Paris?"

The violent outrages of himself and adherents he defended, by converting his crimes into expedient virtues. "The people of a large country," said he, "cannot act together. The tyrant can only be struck by those who are near him."

The disorders that were committed, he apologized for, by saying, that partial violences must ever attend great revolutions. He told the representatives

representatives they were not to look with inquisitorial eyes into every circumstance of the insurrection. They were not justices of the peace—but legislators.

He denied having any concern in the slaughter of the prisoners. In this part of his defence, he followed Tallien, in his pamphlet entitled, *La verité sur les evenemens du 2 Septembre*.—"The truth of the events of the 2d of September."

With crocodile tears, he said, that he was told *one innocent* person perished among the prisoners. "I have wept bitterly myself," said he, "for this fatal mistake. Although all the others deserved death by the law, I am sorry they were sacrificed by the irregular justice of the people."

A great confusion arose when Louvet succeeded Robespierre in the tribune. Some desired the speech to be printed, while others were strongly expressive of their censure. The printing of his speech was, at last, decreed.

Of the thirteen members who had given their names, as speakers upon the question, three intended to speak in favour of Robespierre, five against him, and five on the general subject. This number of speakers, induced the Assembly

to preclude the further discussion. Barrere proposed to close it immediately. Barbaroux being prevented from speaking, as a member, appeared as an accuser at the bar. But Couthon, and others of Robespierre's party, prevented his being heard. By the motion of Barrere, this enquiry was ended, by a decree for passing to the order of the day. This triumph of Robespierre is thought to have arisen from the representatives of the people having considered, that if he had been arrested—such was his influence, that an insurrection must have immediately followed. They thought punishing the authors of the massacres would only revive these sanguinary enormities.

The names of Louvet, Rebequi, and Barbaroux, being on the list, as members of the Jacobin society, a vote was passed for their expulsion.

The younger Robespierre declared, in the club, that, while Louvet was speaking, he thought his brother would have been assassinated. He said that he heard one of the members of the Convention swear, that he was determined to murder the would-be Dictator. Being desired to name him, he said that he knew not his name.

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On the triumph of Robespierre, and to excite popular hatred against his accusers, Legendre and Tallien asserted, soon after in the Convention, that a party of Marseillois, with some Republic dragoons, had, with drawn swords, cried in the streets, "Off with the head of Marat." Tallien added also, that the same *Fédérés* cursed those deputies in a coffee-house on the Boulevards, and cried, "Live Roland! No process against the King."

To cause the people to believe there was some design of assassinating Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, Santerre ordered a number of patroles to parade near the houses of these deputies. It was justly observed, that had Santerre taken half the trouble to protect the prisoners, that he did to preserve Robespierre, they would not have been massacred.

Robespierre received the most severe reproaches and censure from Condorcet, in his Paris Chronicle. We are sorry not to have room to state the particulars of an article respecting Robespierre, which appeared in the above paper some little time after his accusation. The following passage, describing his manners, cannot be omitted:

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"Robespierre,

"Robespierre preaches, Robespierre censures. He is furious, grave, melancholy, presumptive, followed in his thoughts and his conduct. He thunders against the rich and the great. He lives upon little, and knows not physical necessities. He has only one mission, that is to speak, which he does incessantly. He refuses places, in which he could serve the people; and chooses posts, where he expects to govern them. He appears, when he can make an impression; and disappears, when the scene is filled with others. He has all characters. He is not a chief of a religion, but a chief of a sect. He claims a reputation for austerity, directed by sanctity. He mounts on forms, speaks of God and Providence, and calls himself the friend of the weak and the indigent. He causes himself to be followed by women; and receives, with gravity, their homage and adoration. He disappears before danger, and is never seen again until it is passed. Robespierre is a priest, and can never be more."

Bazire, a strong partizan of Robespierre, made a report from the Committee of Public Safety, in order to exculpate his leader from the odium of the September massacres. He stated, that they were begun by some servants of a court lady (Madam de Lambelle) with a view to save their

their mistress. He stated also, that the massacre of the Orlean prisoners, was executed chiefly by some men in the service of the Queen.

St. André, a quondam Calvinist, and one of the most violent creatures of Robespierre, endeavoured, in a long speech, to prove the utility of printing and circulating this report. It was, however, negatived.

The hatred and animosity continued to increase between the two parties. The Girondists, being determined to bring the authors of the massacres to justice, enkindled such a sanguinary vengeance in the party of Robespierre, that was only to be fated by the destruction of the former.

The party of Robespierre being alarmed by the battalion of Marseillois, and some Fédérés of other departments, exerted themselves, with every vigour and intrigue, to render them odious in the opinion of the Sans Culottes. Not being able, however, to excite the latter to immediate violence, they directed their efforts against Roland and the Girondists, with as fixed a determination to destroy them as that which directed them in the destruction of the court party on the 10th of August.

To effect this, they hired a fellow to stand on a chair, with a pike thrust in the ground, bearing a small board on the top, inscribed—"The Apostle of Liberty." He declaimed in favour of the revolution of the 10th of August, and the patriots, to whom he asserted France owed its freedom. These patriots, he stated, were those of the Commune, and not Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, nor Louvet, the detractor of Robespierre. These men, with Roland, were trying every possible means to save the King. "Louis the traitor," said he, "has now filled up so high the measure of his treachery, that even his friends in the Assembly cannot deny his guilt, although so anxiously endeavouring to save his life."

Marat continued to excite mutual rancour, pillage, and cutting the throats of each other among the people, under the disguised title, which he assumed in his journal, of "l'Ami du peuple!"

Robespierre, Tallien, St. André, Chabot, and Bazire, and all that savage party, threw the odium of the massacre upon the citizens of Paris, while the Girondists exculpated them from these enormities. Is it not, therefore, extraordinary, they should have treated the first as their friends, and the latter as their enemies?

Another

Another strange paradox appeared, that Robespierre, Danton, and many of their friends, should have spoken in favour of monarchy, who were afterwards the most inveterate against all power but what the people exercised. They divested even the Convention of its independence, in order to possess the popular societies with the efficient powers of government. This was done for the purpose of having the state at the mercy of those assemblies, of which they had made themselves the principal leaders. To see a people thus support a junto, who were so openly violating every civil liberty, and usurping every constitutional authority, evinces the incapacity of a multitude to discriminate between the most consummate parricide, and the most virtuous patriot. The real friends of liberty and the people, who were Roland and the Girondists, incurred their jealousy, and were the perpetual objects of their calumny. To this erroneous partiality in favour of the desperate party, may be attributed the triumph of Robespierre over the best friends to the state and country.

When the mode of pronouncing sentence on the King was debated in the Convention, Robespierre suggested the necessity of ending the whole enquiry in 24 hours, without separating.

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He, and his savage adherents, exerted every art, both within and without the Assembly, to have all forms of process instantly ended by a bloody and sudden execution.

St. André asserted, that the King was, on the 10th of August, judged and condemned by the people. "Therefore, nothing more remained," he said, "than to order his execution."

The Rolandists, Brissotists, and Girondists, being of opinion, that justice and policy forbid the pains of death on the King, were outrageously opposed by Robespierre and Danton.

Genfonnet proposing, that the King's counsel should be heard after the result was known of the scrutiny, was most violently opposed by Robespierre.

It is said, that Egalité, from policy, would have declined giving any vote respecting the King's death, had he not been persuaded to the contrary, by Robespierre, Marat, and others. He, therefore, gave his vote in the following remarkable words:—"Only occupied by my duty, and convinced that all who have attempted, or shall attempt, to conspire against the sovereignty

vereignty of the people, deserve death, I vote for death."

Robespierre, and his desperate crew, rejected the appeal made in the name of the King, and would not allow M. de Maleherbes, his counsel, time to arrange his ideas, in order to state his opinion how votes ought to be taken in criminal cases.

His wanton barbarity, and relentless persecution, appeared by the sentiments which characterized his most zealous adherents. Tallien, who was then one of his most violent partizans, with infernal irony, prompted the King's immediate execution in terms of affected humanity. "He knows," said this monster, "that he is condemned, and a respite demanded. To keep him in suspense, is to keep him in agony. Let us alleviate his sufferings, by decreeing his immediate execution, and put him out of his misery."

Even the ferocious Danton was shocked with his unmanly, cruel, and insulting affectation of pity.

The impatience and anxiety in the party of Robespierre, for the instant death of the King,

appeared also when Marat said, in answer to Paine's vote against it, "Paine, being a quaker, has his mind so contracted by the narrow principles of his religion, that he is incapable of the liberality requisite for condemning men to death."

Robespierre, Danton, and Chabot, boasted of the honour of planning the measure for attacking the King in his palace, with a view to effect a revolution. This hurt Petion, who considered that he had had a most considerable share in the downfall of his sovereign, and the demolition of the established government. Robespierre was so ambitious of this honour, that he would scarcely allow any, but a very few of his associates, to a share. "Those men," said he, "who would assume to themselves the glory of this day, are those who deserve it the least. It is the brave soldiers, and their secret director, who had long before concerted the plan for insurrection, that claim justly the honour."

Robespierre was among the first who voted that the judgment of Louis should not be referred to the decision of the people; and, as he had before voted, that the trial should be ended in 24 hours, he gave the same vote that Louis should be executed within the same time, after
passing

passing his sentence. He also said to the members of the Convention, "Although you are not constituted, according to the forms of law, the judges of Louis, are you less the judges? You cannot separate the indivisible characters of judges and legislators. Being satisfied of the crimes of Louis, it only remains for you to punish. No consideration ought to bias you in your sentence of punishment on the greatest criminal that ever was. I vote, therefore, for the punishment of death.

To accelerate the death of the unfortunate monarch, Robespierre stated, on the 18th of January 1793, that a plot had been discovered to take away the life of Louis, to prevent the ignominy of a scaffold execution.

Robespierre moved, that all the relations of the late King, except his son, should be banished from France, within eight days, and that the late Queen should be tried for her life before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Convention so far dissented from this proposition, that, almost unanimously, they passed to the order of the day.

Among his measures for suppressing information being given to the Convention, Robespierre

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moved,

moved, that no letters from the Generals, in the service of the enemies of France, should be read.

On Monday, April 15, 1793, Robespierre, to impress the people with a conviction of his patriotism, recommended, in the Convention, a declaration of rights; and, at the moment that he was thus appearing the friend of national liberty, he was causing it to be violated in the persons whom he was endeavouring to have denounced, by means of a petition from the Commons of the 48 sections of Paris. The persons whom he had thus marked for proscription, were Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Genfonne, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Petion, Lanjuinais, Fauchet, Valaze, Lafource, Pontecoulant, Lehardy, Gorfes, Valady, Chambon, Hardy, Lanthenas, and Louvet. The petition demanded, that all these should be expelled the Convention, and impeached.

On the 25th of May, 1793, Robespierre sent a deputation from the Council General of the Commune of Paris, declaring, that the imminent danger of the country had made the members of the council consider it their duty to declare themselves permanent. It demanded, that the charge of plots, against the lives of the National Deputies,

Deputies, should be signed and delivered to the Revolutionary Tribunal, so that the culpable of the calumniators should be amenable to law. It was also demanded, that the sentence of Herbert, a member of the Commune, then in the Abbey prison, should pass immediately, so as he might be acquitted or condemned.

By this bold measure, he thought to perpetuate his power, to punish those who dared to accuse him of his crimes, and to deter any others from bringing any further charges against him.

To this, the President boldly replied—"Justice shall be speedily administered. But I declare, that if the city of Paris attempts any violence against any one of its representatives, the destruction of the city will follow, and the Seine be purpled with blood."

On the second of June, Robespierre completely effected his vengeance against the party by whom he was before accused. He caused the Convention to decree an arrest of the members mentioned above. The paramount sway was then evidently in Danton and Robespierre. Marat was only their ostensible agent. The desperate ambition of these men led them into the most detestable excesses. To what purposes

they assumed this power, time has too fatally discovered. Thus Robespierre, with the aid of his Jacobin myrmidons, triumphed over every opponent to his savage intentions.

Of the ministers who were ordered to be arrested, Claviere evaded his pursuers by escaping out of a window. Petion was stopped with Guadet, by the people on the Boulevards; but by most feelingly addressing them, he was suffered to escape. Brissot was arrested at Moulins, after having fled from Paris.

Gorfas, Grangeneuve, Lafource, Lidon, Buzot, and Roland, escaped also from Paris.

The Mountain, under the influence of Robespierre, continued to prevail, although it had not annihilated the other party in the Convention. Marat, to shew his moderation, withdrew himself in the moment of triumph.

When he had any thing to propose, he wrote to the President of the Convention.

Arresting the twenty-two Members of the Convention, excited a great ferment in many of the departments. Several of them actually marched their National Guards to restore order
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to the capital. The popular indignation was chiefly excited at Rennes and Bourdeaux. At Evreux, Buzot, who had fled there, was carried about in triumph. And 4000 of this department vowed their resolution to march to Paris.

When the report of the constitution was presented to the Convention, Robespierre pronounced a laboured panegyric upon its presumed excellencies, and concluded with saying, it was the superb monument of human reason.

To prepare the minds of the people for the establishment of a Dictatorship, Robespierre caused a pamphlet to be written and distributed throughout the department of Calvados. In this publication, was a statement of the dangerous circumstances in which the country was involved, and that no possible means could be devised so effectual for the public safety, as the establishment of a Dictator. The persons in which it was proposed the tyrannical power should alternately reside, were also mentioned in the pamphlet. Their names were Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and Garat.

And to impress the people of Paris at the same time with the necessity of the above measure, Robespierre obtained a decree in the Convention

tion—that the Committee of Public Safety should be bound to take all convenient measures, to acquaint the people with all the dangers in which the country was involved, and the causes which occasioned them.

His next object was in the Commune, to have formed a military commission, by Tallien, Richard, and Bodieu, which pronounced sentence of death, without appeal or adjournment, on all military transgressions, and upon the emigrants, and refractory priests, who should not have submitted to the laws of transportation.

Amidst the variety of charges, he caused to be reported by St. Just, from the Committee of Public Welfare, against the arrested Girondists, were the following :

“ Previous to the 10th of August, the prisoners had avowed their attachment to the monarchy. Partizans of the forfeiture of royalty, they combated republicanism. They prepared the throne—some for the son of Louis Capet, under the regency of his mother—others for the Duke of York, who now so politely makes war upon us, and indemnifies the French agriculturists, by letting his soldiers ravage their fields. They all felt an equal detestation of the Republic; they all

all wanted to deprive France of their popular government."

In this style of unjust crimination was the whole report of the Committee of Public Welfare read to the Convention. Thus were those who had really voted for the re-establishment of Monarchy, accusing the real friends of the Republic, with designs against it, from a hatred of its principles.

It is remarkable that this desperate monster seldom gave his sentiments but to enforce some principle leading to imprisonment, outlawry, banishment, confiscation, or massacre.

Agreeably to this practice, he voted, that the decree of outlawry passed against Coustard, should be kept in its full force.

Under the pretence of exciting sentiments of republicanism in the minds of youth, he promoted the establishment of public schools. Thus he most violently tore asunder the attachments of parents and children. Guimard, justly said, on this occasion, that the surest tie for binding the Republic was, to leave the education of children to their parents, which could only preserve mutual attachment to each other, Never

was an observation made with more propriety. It is the affection subsisting from the relative ties of nature, that stimulates the patriot and the soldier to the defence of the country. Unhinge these, and you destroy the first principles of social defence.

This evinces the narrow limits of Robespierre's political capacity: but, absorbed in his views of raising himself, and perpetuating his tyranny, he has frequently sacrificed the sound principles of legislation to his innovating violence. To this temper, may be ascribed his desire to have the rising youth of France impressed with habits and sentiments favourable to his designs and practices; and, to cover his real intentions, he pretended that this establishment was not only dictated by political prudence, but national humanity.

"These institutions," said he, "will plant the true sentiments of republicanism, while the mind is tender, and fit to receive the rudiments. This mode of education will serve as a bulwark to our liberties. The poor man will not be burthened; and as the Republic will derive the benefits, so let the nation defray the expences of these institutions."

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Thus he was indifferent to what expence he subjected the nation, provided he could only, by any means, perpetuate his power. Knowing that youth are capable of receiving impressions that the more mature would reject, from being able to perceive their enormity, he caused this decree to pass, by means of Danton, on the 13th of August 1793.

On the 13th of September, he again appeared as the advocate for massacre. When Ducos had spoken in favour of the Bourdelois, Robespierre, in his accustomed style of sanguinary vengeance, said, "Our thanks are certainly due to the long oppressed patriots of Bourdeaux; but the chiefs of that conspiracy must fall. By this double measure, you can only save your country. Distrust that false intelligence, which the Bourdelois so industriously propagate, to deceive you with more certainty. In Bourdeaux, the Sans Culottes only remain faithful to the Republic. The remainder are only of that accursed faction you lately expelled from among you."

He is said to have instigated Hebert, whom he afterwards sacrificed, to exhort, in his journal—*Le Pere Duchesne*, the Convention to strike off, without delay, the heads of Brissot and all the Girondists. "Above all," said Hebert in

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the above paper, "you ought not to forget Bailly, who should be guillotined in the Champ de Mars, where he hoisted the red flag."

"Let all those scoundrels," continued Hebert, "who are accused of betraying the people to the tyrant, whether in the Constituent Assembly, National Assembly, or Convention, perish! Give no quarter to the enemies of Sans Culottism. The day of revenge is come!"

On the motion of Robespierre, the 3d of October, the decree of accusation against the Brissotists and Girondists, was simply put to the vote, and passed. He then applauded the Convention, by saying, "It has justly merited, by this decree, the approbation of all France. It is no longer a tyrant it has to dethrone; it is conspirators, whom she drives from her bosom; whom she, at length, delivers to national vengeance. This is the noblest exercise of power, confided to it by the people."

The terrors which harraressed his mind, in consequence of his enormities, kept him in a constant state of alarm and suspicion. He saw in every stranger an enemy. To guard himself from that vengeance, which he apprehended was impending over him, he said, in the Convention,

"All

" All strangers ought to be suspected, and particularly those who appear to be patriots. They are the agents of Austria, who have still a faction in the bosom of the Republic, and employ persons who appear to be most free and steady."

On these suggestions, it was decreed, that foreigners, born subjects of powers with which the Republic was at war, should be imprisoned until there should be a peace.

To relieve the mind from contemplating such atrocity against every blessing of society, the following interesting anecdotes are related of Valady, one of the proscribed members by Robespierre and his party, and a chief promoter of republicanism.

This ci-devant Marquis de Valady, was born in la Rouvergue, of a family equally noble and ancient, but without any court patronage. His father, therefore, formed an alliance with the Count de Vaudreuil, whose credit at Versailles was superior to his fortune. The Marquis de Valady, possessing 50,000 livres a year, was consequently thought a desirable husband for the daughter of Vaudreuil; and, according to the manners of the French nobility, they were married in a state of childhood. But the youthful

Valady, reared with high sentiments of liberty, and of mental qualifications, was not satisfied with the disposal of his hand, without his own concurrence, to a woman whose mind he thought inferior to her person. He wanted a soul, he said, and they had married him to a body. Nor would he, although his wife was one of the prettiest women in France, consummate his marriage, until he was almost compelled by his mother-in-law, when on a visit at the country house of the Count.

His disgust continuing to encrease, he came to England in 1786, with an intention of going to America. Arriving in London, he took lodgings at the house of Mr. Bell, bookfeller, in the Strand. His wife's family came to England in pursuit of him, when he consented to return to France, but with a resolution of never living with his wife. Previous to this, Valady had entered into the French foot guards, as sub-lieutenant. In this military situation he did not long continue; for, the disgust at the subjection of a military life, and having involved himself in some pecuniary difficulties by his extravagance, induced him to go to the Duke of Biron, in 1787, and resign his commission. Returning to his lodgings, he immediately sent for a barber, and had his hair cut short in his neck.

neck. At the same time, he assumed the appearance of a quaker, in consequence of sentiments of simplicity he had imbibed from Brissot.

Among his friends, he counted an Englishman (Oswald), who was eccentric in his mode of thinking, and who had adopted the dietetic principles of the Bramins. So much had Oswald prevailed with him against the custom of eating portions of a corpse, that Valady, for a considerable time, abstained from animal food. These sentiments, and others, which he had imbibed from books, induced him to write a system of philosophy, so romantic and chimerical, that some attributed it to a derangement of mind.

In 1788, he resumed his favourite idea of going to America; but, arriving at Havre de Grace, he found his negligence of pecuniary accommodation had rendered him unable to pay his passage. He applied to the captain of an American merchant-ship, and told him his financial situation; but added, that he could amply compensate him for the expence and trouble of his passage. "How is that?" asked the American. "I will teach you philosophy," replied Valady. The rude seaman, not having reckoned

reckoned philosophy among the profits of his voyage, declined the offer with contempt.

But the year had not ended, before he entirely abandoned his thoughts of emigration. "Affairs in his own country," he said, "grew too interesting." At this time, popular discontent was maturing into a revolution. Valady exerted himself, as much as possible, to accelerate the event. In one point, he may be considered as the chief promoter of the vicissitudes which have characterized the eventful history of France, during the late changes that have distinguished the proceedings of that country. Availing himself of his influence over the foot-guards, he was the first who brought them to the *Palais Royal*, and encouraged the people to insurrection, by shewing, that, in case of an insurrection, they would have this military body to support them. The expiring government ordering him to be arrested, he was obliged to fly, and hide himself on board an American ship at Nantz. By the King's secret council, he was condemned to die. Had he been taken into custody, he would probably have been executed in prison, *entre deux quichets*, as they were called, agreeably to the custom in such cases.

Although

Although he affirmed this fact from his positive knowledge, yet he voted to save the King's life. He proposed also, that the whole Royal Family should be treated with tenderness and liberality. Madame Elizabeth, in particular, he wished might receive a portion adequate to the ideas, and hopes, with which she had been educated.

Valady was so devoted to Brissot, that he placed the most unlimited confidence in his virtue, philosophy, and patriotism. To this, and the horror he conceived against the tyrannical and sanguinary proscriptions of Robespierre's faction, may be attributed his support of the unfortunate Girondists. So zealous was he in their cause, that he proposed going armed to the Convention, to attack the furious sectaries of Marat.

The goodness of his heart, the elevation of his spirit, and the purity of his intentions, caused many, who lamented his errors, to pray for his safety.

On the 18th of November, Robespierre, agreeably to his favourite theme of governing by terror, announced, that Billaud Varennes would
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that day make a report concerning the means of increasing the energy of government.

Billaud Varennes rose, and stated to the following purport, that hitherto the laws had remained without vigour; that, unless they were rigorously executed, republicanism would soon expire, and despotism would rise on the ruins of freedom. He stated, that kings were less to be feared than federalism; for the most dangerous assassin is he who lives in the same house.

In this, he seems, unconsciously, to have portrayed the danger which the Convention and the people had to apprehend from such an assassin as Robespierre, who might be said to reside in the bosom of the Convention, Jacobin Club, and Commune.

Under his influence in the Committee of Public Safety, the report of Barrere was formed, which concluded as follows in the true Robespierrean style: "Reinforcements have been sent from the other Republican armies, to EXTERMINATE THE REBELS, THE FANATICS, AND THE ROYALISTS; TO REDUCE THE DEPARTMENTS STILL ATTACHED TO FEDERALISM; AND, FINALLY, TO EXECUTE THE BOLD ENTERPRIZE

OF PUNISHING THE KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS MINISTERS, ON THEIR OWN TERRITORY, AND OF RETAKING, ON THE BANKS OF THE THAMES, THE PROVISIONS THEY HAVE RAVISHED FROM COMMERCE, AND THE WANTS OF MAN."

This report was followed by a motion, decreed in these terms:

"The representatives of the people, sent as commissioners, are bound to execute the resolutions of the Committee of Public Safety. Generals, and other agents of the executive power, shall not avail themselves of private affairs to refuse executing them."

This decree completed the triumph of the Committee of Public Safety over the legislature and the military powers. They became both the slaves of this tyrannical institution. Robespierre now began to consider himself in all, but the name, the Dictator of France.

The next day Robespierre had the satisfaction of hearing announced in the Convention that Chambon, one of his proscribed deputies, endeavouring to conceal himself in a farm house, was discovered by the people, and immediately put to death.

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When Baledas denounced Barrere in the Jacobin Club, on the 28th of November, 1793, Robespierre, after affecting to speak in his defence, most treacherously abandoned his cause. It being ordered that Barrere's conduct should be investigated, the following were Robespierre's remarkable words on the occasion—"I will protect no one—I have not defended, nor do I mean to defend Barrere. I will not have either my name, or my observations in any manner implicated in the discussion of Barrere's conduct."

This evinces that his most zealous friends had no dependence on his attachment or gratitude. Anxious to promote his own power and popularity, he chose such as would be subservient to his controul, and could assist him in his designs. But the instant his creatures became unpopular, he always abandoned them to their fate, and sometimes accelerated their ruin.

Among the proscribed deputies by Robespierre, was Manuel. The following are some interesting particulars respecting this remarkable character, who has been so much the subject of unjust censure and conversation:

He

He was the son of a potter at Montargis. Having been well educated in grammar, and protected by some of the French literati, he was recommended as a tutor to the sons of M. Tournon, an opulent banker in Paris. Having completed them in the knowledge of the French language, he was rewarded with a pension of 1000 livres a year. Desirous of encreasing this small stipend, he accepted a subaltern place in the police of Paris, under M. de Sartine, who was then lieutenant of this oppressive jurisdiction. But, perhaps, jealous of seeing superior posts in meaner hands, or abhorring the oppression of the police, he wrote, while in the pay of government, against its abuses.

One of these political writings, published under the title of "a Letter from an Officer in the Life-Guards," excited against him (about the year 1786) the reproaches and vengeance of those in power. The indiscretion of Manuel on this subject, involved a lady, who lent him the apartment where the letter was printed, in disagreeable circumstances. He obtained himself, what was then called, *the honours of the Bastille*. This he asserted himself, although other persons declared that the inferior prison of the Bicêtre was the place of his confinement.

His imprisonment, however, continued only four months.

This punishment was, consequently, attended with the loss of his post in the police. He was now obliged to adopt a profession, never before known in Paris, although so much practised in London.

His new profession was to hawk, in as genteel a manner as possible, all new pamphlets that could not be publicly sold. Provided with such as were the most popular, he visited all his acquaintance, and was rewarded with a dinner or a present, proportioned to the boldness of the interdicted publication.

With this assistance, and some concern in periodical works, compilations, abridgments, and some few original productions, he tolerably provided himself with some accommodations his scanty income would not otherwise have afforded him. Among the original parts of his works, the historical history on the life of St. Louis, gained the most reputation. In his style, he followed, *non passibus æquis*, Voltaire's Essay on General History. Most of his other works were disgraced with points, puns, conceits, and mythological allusions. This habit betrayed his

his pedantry, and his being originally a pedagogue.

In this country, where it has been too much the fashion of vilifying all concerned in the first revolution, he has been accused of concerting the murders in the month of September. The pretence for this calumny arose from having been, at that time, Procureur of the Commune of Paris. This was a part of his accusation by the bloody faction of Robespierre; but the public of Paris considered him innocent of this charge. Some of his personal enemies indeed asserted, that he contrived the arrest of M. Bosquillon, a justice of the peace, and one of the most respectable victims of those days of massacre. But surely his having saved Madame de Tourzel, lady of the Queen's bedchamber, should exempt him from such a suspicion of cruelty. Manuel always declared, that he would also have saved the Princess de Lambelle, *si elle n'avoit pas perdu la tête*; i. e. If she had not lost her presence of mind.

His secession from the National Convention, when he found them determined to condemn the King to death, and the severe language he used against the Mountain, undoubtedly caused his own death. A few days previous to pro-

nouncing sentence on the unfortunate Monarch, a letter, from an ex-member, appeared in Condorcet's *Chronique de Paris*, soliciting a judgment less severe. This was written by Manuel, and was thought equal to all his former productions. He seemed to have collected, in this letter, all his strength, to exalt his style to the dignity and importance of his subject.

From that time, Manuel evinced an instability of principle. Having been a vehement republican, the opinions he delivered in confidence were aristocratical. The extravagance of the charges, and the inconclusive evidence produced in their support, evinced that he had not committed any overt act against the government. His character has, however, been cruelly and unjustly mangled by the idolizers of Marat, abroad, and the treasury-writers at home, who seem to have thought they cannot please their employers more than by plenty of abuse, whether sanctioned or not by evidence or opinion. His faults, if candidly examined, will appear to have arisen from the best of motives. Thinking the rights of the people the cause of humanity and justice, he defended them with zeal and perseverance; and on principles of policy and compassion, he defended the life of his sovereign.

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The Convention having put the Revolutionary Committees under the controul of the Committee of Public Safety, excited some resentment in the Commune of Paris; but this was only transferring the influence of Robespierre from a public meeting to one more secret, and more immediately under his controul. It is not doubted, that the complaints originated with himself, in order to prevent his being suspected as the cause of the change.

The Commune might think the importance of these Committees was too great to resign without a murmur; for they had seen these Committees effect the triumph of Petion over La Fayette, and Robespierre over Petion. At this time, Paris was exposed to all the horrors of impending famine, occasioned designedly by the Commune being so offended with the Convention.

The manner in which he denounced and vindicated in one breath Camille de Moulines, most curiously displays the power he had then over the Convention, and the versatility of his talents and attachment.

"I denounce him," said Robespierre, "as having been the intimate friend of Mirabeau,
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the Lameths, Dillon, Lamorliere, and Custine. But, having been my school-fellow at college, I vindicate his character by asserting that, at the time when monarchy rested on its firmest basis, Camille, as a private individual, an advocate without clients, and the humble tenant of a garret, dared to display, in some elegant verses, the boldest sentiments of a republican. It is true that Camille has constantly the guillotine before his eyes, and, because several of his friends have perished on a scaffold, he thinks the same fate is awaiting him. In latter times, however, he despised and pursued Mirabeau, Lameth, and the Brissotists. Sillery contrived to employ the charms of the famous Pamela, for the purpose of drawing Camille into the Girondist faction. But Camille, true to his republican principles, despised the charms of this new Circe. He was the first who, at the Palace Royal, publicly preached patriotism with a pistol in his hand. His energetic pen may still be usefully employed. But he ought to be more cautious and prudent in the choice of his friends. I demand the admission of Camille de Moulines." The subservient Convention applauded, and resolved, agreeably to the demand of the dictatorial Robespierre.

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But this favour, granted to Camille, was only a short respite from the guillotine, to which Robespierre had, in his mind, already devoted him. Knowing that he might still derive some service from his writings, he granted him a few months longer existence, until he could involve his fate among those which he had marked for his future vengeance.

The enmity of Robespierre towards nobles, foreigners, bankers, and stock-brokers, extended so far as to induce him to have them expelled the society of the Jacobins. His chief reason was, that, as they had always been spies, although they wore a *red cap*, their heads aimed at the triumph of a *red heel*; but, on a motion to expel the priests, he gave his negative, and caused it to be rejected. This proved what Condorcet said respecting his natural attachment to priestcraft.

The enmity with which Robespierre persecuted the Brissotists being yet unappeased, his influence in the Convention occasioned Anacharsis Cloots, and Thomas Paine, on the 31st of October, 1793, to be deprived of their seats, arrested, and seals put upon their papers. Anacharsis Cloots has since been sacrificed,

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among his numerous victims, by the guillotine.

In consequence of Thomas Paine being thus confined, a deputation of Americans was admitted to the bar; and the orator demanded the pardon of Thomas Paine, that apostle of Liberty, who had been proscribed in England, and whose arrest was a species of triumph to all the tyrants on earth. His papers had been examined; and far from finding any dangerous propositions, the committee had only traced the characters of that burning zeal for liberty—of that eloquence of nature and philosophy—and of those principles of public morality, which had, through life, procured him the hatred of all despots, and the love of his fellow-citizens. They demanded, therefore, with confidence, that Thomas Paine should be restored to the fraternal embrace of his fellow-citizens; and they offered themselves sureties for his conduct, during the short time that he should remain in France.

The President, after a high compliment to the Americans, said, "You demand from us Thomas Paine. You are anxious to re-conduct, to your own sides, the assertor of the Rights of Man.

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We must applaud this generous devotion. Thomas Paine was born in England—that was enough to subject him to the decree, in the first instance, which our own safety demanded by the revolutionary laws. The Convention will take into consideration your demand.”

Instead of adopting a system of humanity, which should be the ultimate object of freedom, Robespierre and his faction supported their sanguinary proceedings upon principles of necessity, and endeavoured to sanction them by a recapitulation of cruelties exercised by former governments.

It was on this principle, that St. Just drew the following exaggerated picture of imprisonment and sacrifice throughout the government of France, in order to extenuate the punishment decreed for the relations of the Aristocrats.

“ There are,” said he, “ in Europe, four millions of prisoners, of whom you do not hear a word, and we leave at liberty our most determined enemies. Louis XVI. caused to perish, in 1787, at Paris, in the streets St. Hypolite and Melce, more than 8,000 Frenchmen, and the calamity was scarcely mentioned. Under the monarchy, 400,000 men were taken up every

year, and 1,500 smugglers were hanged. Under that odious government, 3,000 men were broken yearly on the wheel; and the Revolutionary Tribunal is calumniated for having condemned to death, in the course of one year, 300 miscreants."

To apologize for cruelty, by a recapitulation of the too innumerable sacrifices that were made under the reigns of despotism, evinces an appetite for vengeance, that could find no palliation but in comparing it with the excesses of that tyranny they were pretending to annihilate. Instead of defending a people from rapine and murder, they were thus supporting their despoiling and sanguinary system, by insulting the reason of those whose feelings they were afflicting with the most relentless oppression.

About the middle of last March, Robespierre alarmed all Paris with the rumours of a new conspiracy. This, like every other of his rumours, was only the prelude to another human sacrifice on the altar of his ferocious, insatiate vengeance. Hebert, Ronzin, Vincent, Momoro, and others, who were esteemed distinguished patriots, were arrested by the Committees of Public Safety and General Welfare, on a charge of

of conspiring against the Republic. The Revolutionary Tribunal having condemned Hebert, Ronzin, Momoro, Vincent, Du Croquet, Kocq, a Dutchman, Col. Laumur, Bourgeois, Mazuel, La Boureau, Ancard, Le Clerc, Proly, Dessieux, Cloots, Pereira, Florent, Armand, Descombes, and Dubuion, for conspiring against the liberty and safety of the people, they were all guillotined, March 21, at nine o'clock.

The following are some particulars relating to the most remarkable of the above victims: Hebert was Procureur General of the Commune of Paris, and had been extremely active, as the creature of Robespierre, in promoting the death of the unfortunate Queen. Ronzin was General of the revolutionary army; and Anacharsis Cloots was a Prussian Baron, a kind of madman, who called himself the orator of the human race. Only one of the accused was acquitted. He was no sooner liberated, than the President embraced, and placed him by his side, while the Hall resounded with applauses. Those who suffered, displayed a variety of behaviour. Hebert evinced much weakness; Momoro was firm; Ronzin insolent; Ancard impetuous; and Vincent, calm and resigned.

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They denounced Pache, the ci-devant mayor; Henriot, the commandant general; and Chaumette, the procurator syndic. Lullier, the procurator general of the department, was said not to have been in the plot. He was, however, arrested for merely having inserted in the list of the jurors for criminal causes, the names of several suspected persons. The nineteen victims were all executed in eighteen minutes.

Robespierre, and his Committees of Public Safety and Welfare, carried all their measures in triumph. Who could have supposed that Danton, who asserted on the 19th of March, in the Convention, on the subject of this conspiracy, that the people ought to have full confidence in Robespierre, and the Committees, should, only eleven days after, be arrested himself.

This being announced by Legendre to the Convention, he observed, that he feared private animosities were going to sacrifice men who had rendered essential services to the revolution. He spoke of his own connections with Danton, and what Danton had done, as minister of justice, in 1792. He moved, that Danton, and the other three arrested deputies, should be heard at the bar.

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This caused Robespierre to rise.—“ These disturbances,” said he, “ for a long time unknown in the Assembly, evince that a grand interest is in question, namely—Whether certain men shall be more powerful than their country? Or else, why is this motion, which was rejected when made by Danton in favour of Chabot and Bazire, now applauded by some individuals. I repeat it, the question is, whether or not certain ambitious men shall be stronger than liberty? What, then, shall we have made so many sacrifices only to fall under the yoke of intriguers? Little do I regard the eulogies which people bestow on themselves and their friends. No more do we ask what a man has done at this or that period. We ask, what has been his conduct during the whole of his political career. Legendre pretends not to know the names of three of the deputies arrested with Danton. Knows he not that La Croix, his friend, is of the number? He affects ignorance, knowing that he cannot pronounce the word—La Croix, without shame. He chooses rather to speak of Danton, the intimate friend of La Croix, because the name of Danton is less offensive. We shall now see whether or not the Convention can break in pieces an idol. Could not all that is said of Danton be said of Brissot, Hebert, and Chabot? They were all, at certain periods, the defenders

of liberty. Why then should Danton be allowed a privilege denied to his companion, Fabre d'Eglantine?

"Attempts are made to alarm you on the abuse of power. What have you done, that you have not done freely? Have not all your actions contributed to the salvation of your country, and to draw down the blessings of the people? It is feared individuals may be sacrificed. Do you then distrust that justice which constitutes the hope of the people? I declare such as tremble at this crisis, are guilty.

"They have tried to intimidate me. The friends of Danton have written, that if Danton be overthrown, I must perish under the stroke of the aristocrats. They have imagined that connections might induce me to divert the course of justice. What are the dangers to me that may threaten? My life is my country's, my heart is free from reproach, and, above all, from fear.

"I was also the friend of Petion, of Roland, and Brissot. They betrayed their country, and I declared against them. Danton wishes to take their place. Danton, in my opinion, is only the enemy of his country. The guilty are not so numerous

numerous as they pretend. The most criminal are those who would raise up idols and domineerers. To propose a course with some members, not allowed in behalf of others, is an insult to liberty. The cause of the guilty can only be pleaded by their accomplices. I move the previous question on Legendre's motion."

Barrere stated, in support of Robespierre's motion, that if the arrested Deputies were heard at the Bar, the Convention would be only an Aristocrate senate.

The previous question was carried.

How different was the behaviour of Danton to Robespierre, when he was accused by Louvet! Instead of directly opposing his having an opportunity of defending himself, Danton persuaded him not to leave the Tribune, by assuring him, he had many friends present in the Convention. But when it was proposed, that Danton should be heard in his defence, at the Bar, this wretch, callous to every principle of gratitude or magnanimity, exerted himself, with all his energy and influence, to prevent such an indulgence being granted.

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Robespierre

Robespierre next advised several of the Communes, in the neighbourhood of Paris, to congratulate the Convention on the discovery of the conspiracies. By his dictates, the President thus addressed the Convention: "Be assured, citizens, there never will be in France, King, Dictator, Triumvirs, nor Protectors. We each wear a poniard, to be plunged into the heart of the first dominator who shall lay a parricidal hand on the statue of liberty. Virtue and probity are not idle words. There are hypocrites in virtue as well as in patriotism; but they shall be unmasked. It is not to men we must attach ourselves, but to principles, which are invariable. Let every man in public trust know, that he has only to choose between a civic crown and the scaffold."

These sanguinary sentiments proceeding from the chair, were meant as a warning to all the members who might attempt to restrain the power, or rival the ambition of Robespierre. If they acted in concert with him, a civic crown was to be their reward; but, if they evinced the least opposition to his will, the guillotine was their punishment. No attachment to friends, no gratitude for services, no claims for patriotism, were to screen them from the vengeance,
to

to which the refractory or mal-contents were devoted.

Robespierre finding the Executive Council the only remaining restraint on his power, obtained, by the means of Carnot, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, the abolition of this authority.

In its stead, twelve commissioners were appointed. The Commissioners of Police, Public Instruction, Foreign Affairs, and Finance, were to be nominated by the Convention, on the presentation of the Committee of Public Safety; and it was decreed, they should give a daily account of their proceedings to the above Committee. Thus, by this stroke of policy, Robespierre possessed himself not only of the patronage but the controul of every efficient department of the State.

The thirst of slaughter in Robespierre and his faction, conspicuously appeared in the following remarkable words, from a deputation of the popular Society of Certe, spoken on the 4th of April, at the Bar of the Convention:

“Legislators,” said the Spokesman, “treason still wishes to raise itself by raising monarchy.

Let us raise it to the scaffold. Legislators, make death the order of the day. Marat said, off with 300,000 heads, and liberty is secured for ever. If more attentive to the voice of their friend, the people had then exerted their omnipotence, they would have crushed the seeds of La Vendee, of Federalism, and of a war, that will devour millions of men; but we are weak, and liberty totters."

This speech, in favour of slaughter, excited the indignation of the Assembly. The President answered, "Not death—but justice is the order of the day. The National Convention has proved, that it will spare no conspirator, no enemy of liberty; that it will even search for such in its own bosom. When we find a conspirator, it is not to death we send him, but before a tribunal formidable, it is true, to the guilty, but just to the accused; it gives confidence to good citizens and to innocence oppressed. In exercising these acts of just severity, we discharge the duty which the trust reposed in us by the people, and our conscience, impose upon us; but to the obduracy of the legislature, succeed the feelings of the man. We weep over the perverseness of our fellow-citizens. The language you have uttered here, is unworthy of Republicans; and the citizens who fill

fill our galleries, have proved, by their murmurs, they share not in your sentiments: for they are Frenchmen, Republicans, that are just and humane; and, in spite of those who would annihilate all public and private virtue, never shall we be brought to delight in human blood; for virtue, probity, and justice, are the order of the day. Report this answer to those who sent you."

No honours of the fitting were allowed to this deputation. La Planche advised an enquiry respecting the man who delivered these sentiments, instigating to massacre, as if the Convention was an assembly of executioners, and moved for his being sent to the Committee of Public Safety; but, on the suggestion of Breard, it was ordered, that the address only should be sent to the above Committee.

Danton, and the other arrested deputies, being condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, they were executed by the guillotine, on April 5, 1794. Those who suffered, were Danton, Chabot, La Croix, Fabre d'Eglantine, Herault de Sechelles, Phillipeaux, Delauny of Angers, Bazire, Camille de Moulines, d'Espagnac, Junius, and Emanuel Fry; Dietrichen, a Dane, and Gusman, a Spaniard.

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The same approbation of the public seemed to attend the above executions, as have been lately seen in consequence of Robespierre and his party having been guillotined. For, in a Paris paper, it was observed, "We have at length reached the happy epoch, when the government triumphs over every faction. Regeneration is, on every side, the order of the day; and the members of all the municipal bodies, and indeed of all the constituted authorities, are passing under the purifying scrutiny. Constant searches, which terminate as regularly in the arrest of several individuals, are still made in the gaming houses, the taverns, and drinking houses, the *ci-devant* Palais Royal, and the theatres.

The next who were executed, according to the dictates of Robespierre, had among them the following remarkable persons: Gobet, late constitutional archbishop of Paris; Dillon; the famous d'Epremeuil, formerly counsellor of the parliament of Paris; De Malesherbes, aged 72, one of the official defenders of Louis XVI. and his daughter, aged 38; the famous admiral Count d'Estaing; and Madame Elizabeth, the amiable and virtuous sister of the unfortunate Monarch.

Robespierre

Robespierre having observed, on the 7th of May, that there was an entire revolution in the physical order, which must effect a similar change in the moral and political; that one half of the globe had already felt this change, which the other half would soon feel; and that the French nation had anticipated every other, by 2,000 years, so as to be considered as consisting of a new species of men; he proceeded to an unqualified praise of republican morals and policy, while he represented every other as detestable. He then endeavoured to justify all the terrible measures that had effected the present regimen, and all those by which it was accompanied.

He then caused his decree to pass respecting the existence of a Supreme Being, and the Immortality of the Soul, the Toleration of all Religions, the Decadory Festivals to the Supreme Being, Nature, the Human Race, the French Nation, the Martyrs of Liberty, Liberty and Equality, the Republic, Liberty of the World, Love of the Country, Punishment of Tyrants and Traitors, Truth, Justice, Glory and Immortality, Friendship, Frugality, Courage, Sincerity, Heroism, Disinterestedness, Stoicism, Love, Conjugal Love, Paternal Love, Maternal Tenderness, Filial Piety, Infancy, Youth, Virility,

Old Age, Misfortune, Agriculture, Industry, Ancestors, Posterity, and Happiness.

He then moved, that a festival to the Supreme Being should be celebrated on the 8th of June.

With these professions of religion, he won the confidence of the people on his political integrity. Thus, sacred and profane principles were equally adopted by him, as the means of establishing his popularity, while he was daily sacrificing both to his merciless resentment, rapacious avarice, and inordinate ambition.

May 30, about nine in the evening, a female, 20 years of age, went to the house of citizen Duplai, where Robespierre resided, and asked to speak with him. Duplai informed her, he was not at home :—she said, “ That, it is very strange, as a public functionary, he is not at home. Possessing such a situation as he does, he should be always ready to see those who have business with him.” The manner of speaking these words, excited such a suspicion in the mind of Duplai, that he carried her before the Committee of Public Safety. On her way, she said, that, during the old government, the King was accessible at all times, and that she would spill every

every drop of blood in her body to restore the ancient government, and have a King again on the throne. Being introduced to the Committee, she said her name was Aimée Cecile Regnault; that she was 20 years old, and the daughter of a stationer, in the street called La Lanterne, in the section of La Cite. This woman was committed to prison, and afterwards guillotined.

Barrere, on this subject, presented a report to the Convention. In this he affirmed, that Great Britain directed the poniards of those who wished to assassinate France. He therefore concluded with an address, accompanied with a decree, enjoining the soldiers of the Republic to spare no British or Hanoverian soldier. The decree was adopted.

Robespierre took this opportunity of mounting the Tribune. He expressed his ardent attachment to that republican form of government which France had adopted. When he and his colleagues declared war against faction and vice, they were not insensible that the dagger of the assassin would be lifted against them. Such considerations, however, did not deter them from doing their duty; and he was happy to find, that their labours had assisted to estab-

blish the dominion of morality and justice, and in rendering their power immutable and eternal. The Convention decreed that his speech should be printed, sent to the armies, and municipalities, and translated into all languages. The sections of Paris marched in a mass through the Convention, expressing their indignation at the plots against Collot d'Herbois and Robespierre.

At this moment of triumph, Robespierre saw himself the favourite of the people, the terror of the Convention, and the Dictator of the Committees. He had also to congratulate himself on the destruction of Danton, of whose popularity he was chiefly jealous, and incessantly apprehensive. But this security, which he thought he had obtained over every obstacle that threatened his exclusive possession of the government, was, at that moment, fapping the basis of the tyrannical structure of power his intrigues and violence had raised.

The following is a brief sketch of the most important circumstances attending the fall and execution of Robespierre:

The frequent sacrifices Robespierre was perpetually making of the Conventional Deputies, and

and the incessant threats with which he alarmed them, turned their confidence to distrust, and their attachment to abhorrence. Those who had lost their friends by his persecutions sought every means of leaguings with such as could aid them in their design of subverting this odious tyrant. Among those were Legendre, who remembered with bitterness the death of his friends, Danton and La Croix. And among those who sought security from his vengeance and treachery, were Barrere and Bourdon de l'Oise.

These persons, joining other mal-contents in the Convention, sought the first pretext for opposing the usurped powers of the Committees, and, thus, to shake the oppressive proscribing authority of Robespierre. The power assumed by these Committees of bringing before their Revolutionary Tribunal such persons as they meant to sacrifice, was a measure so tyrannical as induced the enemies of Robespierre to try their power in opposing it.

Bourdon de l'Oise, on the 11th of June, began the opposition. He asked if this power of the Committee of General Safety, of bringing persons before the Revolutionary Tribunal, was to extend to Members of the Convention. A murmur arising, he expressed his pleasure at hearing

such a proof of liberty being imperishable. He then moved, that the representatives of the people should not be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, without a previous decree of accusation from the Assembly.

Another moved, that the obnoxious decree should be repealed.

After some further discussion, a decree passed, containing several articles, among which it was especially provided, that, although every citizen was bound to denounce any magistrate a traitor, he should not carry him or her before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Secret interrogatories were suppressed; and the members of the Convention, the Committees of Public Safety and General Security, the Representatives of the People employed in missions, and the Public Accuser, were exempted from this power of denunciation.

This triumph too fatally convinced Robespierre that his power was now so abridged, that he could not send, at pleasure, to the guillotine, those who dared oppose his measures in either of these assemblies. The Deputies, therefore, now united against him, boldly opposed his measures, without dreading his fury.

This triumph was followed by another, which was a decree to join the Committee of General Safety to that of Public Safety, in order to examine it. By this measure, the prosecutions of the latter were not left to their own oppressive discretion.

There being a phrase in the decree for denunciation, which rendered any innocent person in a public company, coffee-house, or theatre, liable to be tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal, a motion was made, that the words "*All those who endeavour to debauch the morals of the people,*" be erased from the decree. The Committee of Public Safety were ordered to consider, and report upon the subject.

Here a warm contest ensued between Couthon, Barrere, and Robespierre, on one part; and Bourdon de l'Oise and Tallien, on the other.

In this, little passed of moment but personal invective and crimination of each party's principles and intentions. The latter were accused of anti-republican designs, while the former were as violently accused of actual tyranny, and meditated slaughter.

Robespierre,

Robespierre, not having now the power of denouncing, with any prospect of success, his opponents, enabled Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Legendre, to pursue their plan of wresting from Robespierre his ensanguined rod of oppression, and leading him to the scaffold, where he had before sent so many victims to his own ambition.

At the civic fêtes, when all Paris seemed to sup every evening in the streets, the overthrow of Robespierre was matured, his spies and informers exposed, and his sanguinary intentions displayed in all their horror of principle, design, and execution. Robespierre being apprised of a plan forming inimical to his safety, he endeavoured to avoid the meditated blow, by seeking shelter in the Jacobin Club and Commune, and causing Henriot to exert the greatest vigilance, as the commander of the armed force at Paris.

July 26. Robespierre went to the Assembly, and endeavoured to exculpate himself from the charge of aspiring to the Dictatorship. He vindicated the severity with which he had caused the Committees of Public and General Safety to act, while he was obliged to allow, that the Convention

Convention ought to assume the dignity of its character.

Couthon defended Robespierre, and cautioned the Convention against intriguers.

Robespierre was next very pointedly accused by Billaud Varennes. He accused him of being the only man who supported Henriot when he was denounced; of instigating Valette, one of the chiefs of the armed force, to sharpen his poniards to slaughter the representatives; of causing the imprisonment of the members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Section of Indivisibility; of withdrawing himself from the Committee during the four last decades; and of intending to drive every man of integrity from the Convention. Thus he meant to leave none in the Assembly, but men as vile as himself, and prepared to aid his detestable designs. His intentions of corrupting the military, and degrading the representation, were obvious and incontrovertible. He stated also, that Robespierre had screened a man, whom he (Billaud Varennes) demanded should be arrested. This man was a secretary of the Committee of Public Safety, and had robbed the public of 114,000 livres. "We must either," said he, "fall on him with our bodies, or suffer tyrants to triumph,

triumph. He would have mutilated the Convention, and murdered its representatives."

Robespierre, darting towards the Tribune, was stopped, while a number of voices, cried, "Down with the tyrant—Down with the tyrant!"

Tallien, in a long speech, compared him to the detestable Sylla. In his house, he said, were formed those lists of proscriptions with which he had stained, with so much blood, the altar of rising liberty. These, and other enormities, similar to what the foregoing pages detail, Tallien accused him with committing, in most severe and forcible language.

Robespierre attempting, in vain, several times to be heard, threatened, that he would bring the debate to its proper issue.

Billaud Varennes accused him of having reproached the Committee for disarming the citizens.

Robespierre, in his defence, allowed, that he said there were some wretches.

Decrees of arrest were now passed against the Robespierres, Henriot, and Couthon. Lebas required

required also to be arrested. He, and St. Just, were decreed in a state of arrest.

When Collot d'Herbois said, "Citizens, your enemies tell you that an insurrection, similar to that of May 31, must take place;"—Robespierre indignantly exclaimed, "He lies!"

Having already extended this History considerably beyond the intended limits, we are obliged to abridge the debates in the Convention, respecting his overthrow, as much as possible.

The following is, therefore, a summary of the charges exhibited against him, and his party, by Collot, Fayan, Bourdon, Merlin of Thionville, Legendre, Brival, Poultier, Billaud, &c. &c. :

He meant to corrupt the public spirit; to exclude the members of the two Committees; he threatened Collot and Dubarron with a speedy death; he caused the commissioners of a section to procure firelocks for the young men at the ensuing feast; he had joined the Commune with the Jacobin Club, to excite an insurrection; Henriot, with forty madmen, armed with sabres, fell upon Merlin of Thionville, whom they conducted to the corps de

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grand

guard of the palace of Egalité, where he was set at liberty, as soon as he was known to be a representative; a municipal officer attempted to arrest Poultier, who seized and carried the assailant to the Committee of Public Safety; the armed force was excited against the Convention; and that Robespierre, since his arrest, had been escorted to the Commune, where he was protected by the municipal officers, in open rebellion to the decree. It was, therefore, decreed, to put the arrested Deputies, who had escaped, out of the protection of the law.

Henriot, having gained over a company of artillery, determined to turn their cannon against the Convention. He obtained this force by riding, at the head of some troopers, accompanied by all his adjutants, through the principal streets of Paris, calling the people to arms, and exclaiming, "Robespierre is arrested, and Liberty is no more!" And, having won the confidence of the Cannoneers, he found himself, between nine and ten o'clock at night, at the head of 4,000 men, whom he stationed at the Place de Caroufal. The National Guards, faithful to the Convention, prevented the artillery from executing their purpose of firing against the Assembly. A party attempted, with the assistance of a cannon, to force the posts upon

upon the place de Caroufal, where the officer, who commanded the party, was arrested; and thus was the post prevented from being forced.

The Municipality ordered the alarm bell to be rung. The Place de Greve was occupied by armed men, and several pieces of artillery. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, formed, with the municipality, a convention, and declared the other representatives of the people traitors to their country; outlawed them by a decree; sent circular letters to all the sections; appointed a revolutionary tribunal; and ordered the judges of which to condemn, to instant death, such as made the least resistance. The head of this sanguinary jurisdiction was Dumas.

Sijas, Vivier, and other adherents of Robespierre, founded the tocsin in the Jacobin Club, where the members declared in favour of Robespierre. At this moment, all Paris was in commotion, and the flame of civil war was ready to break out on the banks of the Seine.

Twice was Henriot taken up and carried before the Committee of Public Safety: each time he was rescued by his party.

The National Convention began now to exert itself with the greatest activity and vigour. They swore to support liberty and the public weal with their lives. The sections of Paris were exhorted, by a proclamation, to defend the Convention, and arm themselves. Barras, Beaupré, Freron, Leonard Bourdon, Ferrand, Rovere, and Bourdon of Oise, were appointed to lead the people against the revolted, who had rendezvous at the Hotel de Ville. Like Roman senators, the remainder of the Representatives kept their stations, expecting the arrival of the enemy. This caused the Parisians to declare themselves in favour of the Convention. As soon as the gunners heard that Henriot was outlawed, they declared that they only waited the orders of the National Representation, to direct their guns against the Commune. Freron, and the other Commissioners, immediately marched against the faction, and invited the citizens to deliver up the outlaws, on pain of having their houses reduced to ashes. In the mean time, the important post of the Pont-neuf was guarded by 1500 men, provided with guns. Troops were dispatched to guard the prisons. The chief of the Gen d'Armerie of the tribunals, imprisoned by Henriot, being released, came and assured the Committees of the attachment of his company. The Gen d'Armes of the
Convention

Convention paid the same homage. At this time several Members of the Commune had been apprehended. Three thousand five hundred muskets were delivered to the young pupils at the Camp de Sablons, who swore not to part with them but with their lives, which they were anxious to hazard by forming, with their bodies, a rampart round the Convention. La Bretache, a creature of Dumourier, and commandant of the Camp of Sablons, was apprehended. This was in consequence of intelligence being given, that the festival planned for the ensuing day, was adopted with an intention of surrounding the Convention, under pretext of exercising the young Military Pupils, who were, for this purpose, to be provided with guns, and fifteen pieces of artillery. The festival was, therefore, adjourned.

Robespierre, being now in possession of a considerable force at the Commune, declared he would, within two hours, march against the Convention. This being announced to the Assembly, by Billaud Varennes, who said, on the occasion, that the conspirators ought to be immediately seized, and beheaded within an hour; the two Committees assembled and deliberated in a neighbouring apartment. The Deputies stood firm to their posts, and the citizens armed themselves,

themselves. Those who were in the hall, on hearing this menace of Robespierre, instantly departed.

The section of the Sans Culottes came in a body to defend the Convention. They were accompanied by a patriotic municipal officer, whom Legendre, mistaking for a rebel, had wounded. The section of la Montagne rescued a national representative from the hands of Henriot, and arrested a municipal officer. The troops deluded by Henriot now joined their fellow citizens in arms, to support and protect the Convention.

Between two and three o'clock, Bourdon of Oise, repaired to the Place de Greve, there read the decree of the Convention to the people, and soon after rushed himself, with a sabre between his teeth and a pistol in his hand, into the Council Chamber of the Town Hall. He led a small but resolute force. This firm and steady behaviour put the Members of the Municipality into confusion. A Gen d'Arme, at this moment, killed two of the conspirators. The forces of the sections of Lombard, Arcis, and Gravilliers, recalled the misled citizens to their duty, and caused the traitors to fly.

The

The above Gen d'Arme disarmed Robespierre of a knife, and overpowered Couthon, who was defending himself in a similar manner. Robespierre, in the attack, was wounded by a pistol shot in the jaw bone. His younger brother jumped out of the window, and broke a leg and an arm. Couthon stabbed himself twice with the knife he held, before the Gen d'Arme could wrest it from him. Coffintal, a member of the Municipality, finding that Henriot had deceived him, in declaring, upon the forfeiture of his head, that all Paris was in his favour, flung him out of the window. Henriot, who was mortally wounded by the fall, hid himself in a house, from whence he was brought out, so covered with wounds and blood, that it was scarcely possible to recognize him. In despair, he had endeavoured to beat his brains out against the wall.

The Town Hall being now invested on all sides, none of the persons remaining could make their escape.

St. Just, Le Bas, Dumas, and about twenty more conspirators, were taken and confined in an apartment of the Commune House. Le Bas, and several others, with concealed pistols, shot themselves.

Robespierre

Robespierre being taken into custody, had his pockets examined by Leonard Bourdon. He found on him a port folio, and several papers. On Couthon was found a letter, signed Robespierre and St. Just, to the following purport: "Couthon, all the patriots are proscribed, and the populace risen to vindicate their cause. You will betray it, if you do not repair to the Commune House, where we now are."

Robespierre being conveyed to the Convention, the Assembly would not suffer his admittance. Thuriot observed, on this occasion, "to bring in the mangled carcase of a man full of crimes—of an odious tyrant, would be to deprive that glorious day of its splendour, and to expose the Assembly to all the horrors of a plague." He and his accomplices were ordered, therefore, to be conveyed to the *Place de la Revolution*.

The sitting, which was suspended on the 28th of July, at six in the morning, resumed itself at nine, when the Department of Paris appeared, and felicitated the Convention on their success. The Revolutionary Tribunal came also, for orders respecting the trials of the conspirators. The Tribunal was referred to the Committee of General Safety for orders.

The scaffold was now erected on the square of the revolution.

Sijais, who had spent the preceding night at the Jacobins, exciting the people to insurrection, was decreed an outlaw.

Santerre, being liberated, appeared in the Convention, and announced, that he had been the oppressed victim of the miscreant Robespierre. At this time, the young pupils of the school of Mars, accompanied by a martial band of music, defiled through the hall. Their orator received the fraternal embrace from the President.

Robespierre, and his party, being now completely defeated, Legendre went and shut up the hall of the Jacobin Society, when Vivier the President escaped. He was, however, taken afterwards, and suffered with Robespierre, and the rest of the conspirators. The keys of the club were brought to the Convention.

The persons of the conspirators were identified before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Having been outlawed, their recognition being only necessary, sentence of death was immediately pronounced upon them.

In the evening, on the 28th of July, they suffered by the guillotine, amid the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who rent the air with shouts of *Vive la Republic! Vive la Convention!* A memorable example for all men who may attempt to usurp the national sovereignty. Glorious day! when the people beheld all the hopes of their tyrants disappear in an instant. How must the firm countenance of the people of Paris, and the spontaneous rallying of all the citizens around the Convention, terrify the agitators? This revolution, by giving new force to the national representation, pronounces sentence of death upon all who shall attempt to divide or degrade it.

The most dangerous scourge of a people is the influence of a desperate tyrant. He, therefore, who renders himself powerful enough to attempt rising above the law ought, in every one of his fellow citizens, to find a Brutus.

The following is a corrected list of the persons who suffered:

Robespierre, who has been falsely called by the christian name of his brother Maximilian, 37 years old, a native of Arras.

Maximilian Robespierre, a younger brother.

A. St.

A. St. Just, 26 years old, born at Lifere.

George Couthon, 38 years old, born at Orsay.

F. Henriot, commander in chief of the armed force at Paris.

L. La Valette, ex-noble, commander of a battalion of National Guards, and late brigadier general in the Northern Army, born at Paris.

R. Dumas, formerly a lawyer at Lyon le Sauvier, and late president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, 37 years old, born at Luffy.

J. R. Lescot Fleuriot, mayor of Paris, 39 years old.

C. F. Payan, a juryman of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and an officer in the National Guard of Paris, 27 years old.

N. Viviers, judge of the Criminal Tribunal of the Department, and constituent president of the society called Jacobins, in the evening of the 27th of July, 50 years old.

C. Bernard, an ex-priest, 34 years old.

Geney, a vintner, 33 years old.

Gobian, a substitute at the Criminal Tribunal, 26 years old.

A. Simon, a shoemaker, and governor or preceptor of Louis XVII.

C. Laurent, 33 years old; Warner, 29 years old; J. Forrestier, a cannon founder, 47 years old; P. Guerin, a rent receiver; Lezard, a hair-

dresser; Lochefer, an upholsterer; and Bougon and Quenet.

The last twelve were members of the Municipality of Paris. Being outlawed by the Convention, and their persons recognized, they were delivered to the executioner; and conveyed from the Palace of Justice, at seven o'clock in the evening, of the 28th of July.

Never was witnessed a crowd, in Paris, equal to that attending their execution. Women, children, old men, even the whole city, were present. The joy depicted on the public countenance, it is impossible to express. All the streets, through which the conspirators passed, resounded with exclamations. Every eye was fixed on Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who were covered with blood, from the wounds given by themselves before they were taken. When they were executed, the people resounded through the square, "Oh the miscreants! "Long live the Republic! Long live the Convention!"

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

1. THE preceding view, taken of the political actions of Robespierre, evinces, that his ambition increased with his popularity; his tyranny

ranny with his power; and, his ensanguined cruelty, with his slaughter.

2. Determined to govern, he intrigued with the most contemptible miscreants, subjugated every civil and political department to his controul, and sacrificed every rival in fame or power on the shrine of his ambition.

3. Without fortune, he was rich; without official power, he was formidable; and, without virtue or talent, he was popular.

4. Fond of admiration and authority, he courted the praise of women, equally from motives of vanity and policy. Knowing that the fair sex, particularly of France, have ruled, and now rule, the political system, he thought that, winning their good opinion, was the most certain means of establishing his power on the basis of their admiration.

5. Unattached to persons, his most zealous adherents or advocates were never secure from his intrigues, perfidy, and ingratitude.

6. Living for himself alone, he felt no restraints of social or moral ties, whenever they appeared to militate against his safety, his character, or his appetite for power.

7. In the garb of patriotism, he lived the most cruel of tyrants, and died the general execration of a people he had deluded and desolated.

A BRIEF

A
BRIEF SKETCH
OF THE
PERSON, LIFE, AND MANNERS,
OF
ROBESPIERRE.

ACCORDING to information obtained by the writer of these pages, from a person who knew him, he was 37 years old when his life was terminated by the guillotine. His height was not more than five feet three inches. Slender in person, severe in countenance, and haughty in manners, he had none of those *agremens* that could excite any prepossession in his favour. His firm step and quick pace, announced great activity and energy of temper. Absorbed in his boundless plans, he frequently folded and compressed his hands, in the same manner as persons, when full of thought, are insensibly guilty of the most fantastic motions. Being subject to spasms in his shoulders and neck, the latter was generally in a state of convulsive motion, especially when he was most agitated with any surprize, anxiety, or opposition.

His

His dress was always neat, and sometimes elegant. He never failed to have his hair dressed in the best order. His complexion was livid and atrabilious, and his eyes dull, sunk in their sockets, and spiritless, unless something unexpected raised a momentary animation. The constant blinking of the eye-lids, seemed to arise from convulsive agitation, for which he always carried a temporary remedy in his pocket. Although his voice was feeble, it was exceedingly diffonant, unless when he softened it by a management peculiar to himself.

Without the versatile powers of oratory in its extensive perfections, he pleased by a considerable talent for specious declamation. His diction, naturally harsh, he sometimes rendered, by his consummate art of modulation, harmonious. His trite and common place declamation on virtue, crimes, and punishments, was frequently relieved with a brilliant sentiment; but, with all his laboured and studied preparation, his oratory was as indifferent as his logic was subtle and deceptive.

Pride was his predominant passion, although he sacrificed considerably to the vanity of being admired for talents which he never possessed. Anxious to be thought a great politician,

tician, his designs were daring, but never judicious.

He constantly encouraged those who flattered him with praise for his literary talents, of which he had no store, neither from nature or education. Whenever he meant to distinguish himself in the Jacobin Club, Commune, or Convention, he never failed to circulate as many tickets as he possibly could among his female admirers.

He was temperate in his diet, and seldom intoxicated by the social glass of domestic entertainment, or convivial meetings abroad. If one of the representatives made a motion, displeasing to him, his vindictive temper instantly directed his eye to observe the offender, with menacing aspect, for some minutes. Fond of attracting the notice of women, he most wantonly imprisoned them, that he might after have their smiles for restoring them to liberty. He made them shed tears, to wipe them from their cheeks. Although moderate in eating and drinking, he was most sensual in his desires; but, from a weakness of body, his amorous gratifications extended no farther than his imagination.

THE END.

